

CORNELII TACITI  
HISTORIAE

THE HISTORY OF TACITUS

According to the Text of Orelli

*EDITED, WITH ENGLISH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION*

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BOOKS III. IV. V.

Illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitellii longum et unum annum.

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## CORNELII TACITI

## HISTORIARUM

## LIBER TERTIUS.

I MELIORE fato fideque partium Flavianarum duces consilia belli tractabant. Poetovionem in hiberna tertiae decimae legionis convenerant. Illic agitavere, placeretne obstrui 2 Pannoniae Alpes, donec a tergo vires universae consurgerent, an ire comminus et certare pro Italia constantius foret. Quibus operiri auxilia et trahere bellum videbatur, Germani- 3 carum legionum vim famamque extollebant, et advenisse mox cum Vitellio Britannici exercitus robora: ipsis nec numerum parem pulsarum nuper legionum; et quamquam atrociter loquerentur, minorem esse apud victos animum. Sed, insessis 4 interim Alpibus, venturum cum copiis Orientis Mucianum.

CH. I. 1 Poetovionem . . . con-  
venerant] The *duces* only, not the *partes*.

2. Pannoniae Alpes] The adj. *Pannonicas* would be commoner; but Tac. does occasionally use the gen. contrary to common Latin usage, e.g. i. 71. 5, *seditionis vocibus*.

consurgerent] Occasionally used, as here, absolutely (as we speak of a country 'rising'), in the same sense as the commoner *consurgere in arma* or *ad bellum*.

comminus] 'To close with the enemy,' C. and B. There is a sort of picturesqueness in applying to strategy a word properly tactical.

constantius] Taken by Or. as 'more consistent' with their purpose, more appropriate to their end. Perhaps, rather, 'more hearty, more

vigorous;' the recommendations of the course lay in its moral effect, for in 9. 2 it seems to be admitted that, on purely military considerations, it was too great a risk to be justified.

3 mox] Simply 'afterwards;' the main body of the armies of Germany had marched under Valens and Caecina; Vitellius followed with the rest, and with these troops from Britain, several months later, ii. 57. 2, 100. 1.

nec] May be correlative to the following *et*, or 'not even in number,' like *οὐδὲ*, or the *neque amor* in Virg. *Ecl.* iii. 102.

minorem] Less than that of the victors, rather than less than what they had before the defeat.

4 insessis . . . Alpibus] The various senses of *insidere* are regu-

Superesse Vespasiano mare, classes, studia provinciarum, per quas velut alterius belli molem cieret. Ita salubri mora 2 novas vires adfore, et praesentibus nihil peritum. Ad ea Antonius Primus (is acerrimus belli concitor,) festinationem 2 ipsis utilem, Vitellio exitiosam disseruit. Plus socordiae quam fiduciae accessisse victoribus. Neque enim in pro- 2 cinctu et castris habitos: per omnia Italiae municipia desides, tantum hospitibus metuendos, quanto ferocius ante se egerint, tanto cupidius insolitas voluptates hausisse. Circo quoque ac theatris et amoenitate urbis emollitos, aut valetudinibus 3 fessos. Sed, addito spatio, redditum et his robur meditatione belli. Nec procul Germaniam, unde vires; Britanniam freto dirimi; juxta Gallias Hispaniasque; utrinque viros. 4 equos, tributa; ipsamque Italiam et opes urbis; ac si inferre arma ultro velint, duas classes vacuumque Illyricum mare.

larly distinguished in construction; the most literal almost always takes the dat., the derivative 'to adhere to,' the dat., or *in*, in proportion as the use is physical or figurative; while this transitive one is almost peculiar to the cases of a *town* or an *army* 'occupying' a position. Of course here the force of the abl. abs. is conditional—'if, in the interval, they occupied.'

**Superesse]** Either 'he has in addition' to our forces and those of Mucianus, or 'he has not lost, and holds in reserve' the advantages of his geographical and moral position.

**praesentibus]** A dative, 'from their forces on the spot.'

**CH. II. 1 concitor or concitator]** Alternative conjectures, as M., hesitating which to write, put *concitor*. Hence two or three MSS. and early edd. give barbarously *concionator*, as though that could mean 'the advocate' or, as we say, 'the preacher of the war.' Of the two admissible forms, that in the text is most frequent in Tac., e.g. iv. 56. 3.]

**2 se egerint]** This construction is found, though rarely, in the silver age for *agere* or *se gerere*, e.g. Sen. *de Ben.* ii. 20.

**3 amoenitate urbis]** *Amoenus*, a half romantic word (see on i. 67. 4), is rare of *town* attractions; see, however, *Ann. v. 2. 1.*

**valetudinibus]** 'By sickness; different causes affecting the health. One would not use the pl. in a merely distributive sense—'in their healths' would hardly be natural, even in English. Cf. *Ann. vi. 30. 3*, where the pl. is used of a single person.

**meditatione belli]** Not so much 'the preparation for war' (C. and B.) as 'the practice' which the earlier stages of war supply for the more advanced. See iv. 26. 3, for a specification of the *belli meditationa*.

**4 utrinque]** Probably from Gaul and Spain; Germany and Britain are conceived less as sources of possible forces than as the bases of their actual ones.

**Illyricum mare]** Al. *Illyrici*, but

Quid tum claustra montium profutura? quid tractum in 5  
 aetatem aliam bellum? unde interim pecuniam et commeatus?  
 Quin potius eo ipso uterentur, quod Pannonicae legiones, 6  
 deceptae magis quam victae, resurgere in ultionem properent,  
 Moesici exercitus integras vires attulerint. Si numerus militum 7  
 potius quam legionum putetur, plus hinc roboris, nihil libi-  
 dinum; et profuisse disciplinae ipsum pudorem. Equites  
 vero ne tum quidem victos, sed quamquam rebus adversis  
 disjectam Vitellii aciem. 'Duae tunc Pannonicae ac Moesi- 8  
 cae alae perrupere hostem: nunc sedecim alarum conjuncta  
 signa pulsu sonituque et nube ipsa operient ac superfundent  
 oblitos praeliorum equites equosque. Nisi quis retinet, idem  
 suasor auctorque consilii ero. Vos, quibus fortuna in integro 9  
 est, legiones continete: mihi expeditae cohortes sufficient.  
 Jam reseratam Italiam, impulsas Vitellii res audietis. Juvabit  
 3 sequi et vestigiis vincentis insistere.' Haec ac talia flagrans

the adjectival form, though semi-poetical (Virg. *Aen.* i. 243), is not the less Tacitean.

6 *eo ipso . . . quod . . . pro-  
 parent*] Their haste must be met with haste, or the first passion of their indignation will have spent itself.

7 *legionum*] Those on the Vitellian side had left at least a dépôt-battalion in Germany.

*putetur*] No other instance is quoted later than Cato of this use of the simple verb in the same sense as *computo*.

*pudorem*] Hardly so much as 'humiliation' (C. and B.), because it denotes an emotion, not a misfortune, though it is less *ἐξ ἵποθέσεως* (Ar. *Eth.* iv. 9. 7), than in its common use, where one translates it 'military honour.'

7, 8 *Equites . . . hostem*] ii. 41.  
 4, 44. 4.

8 *Pannonicae ac Moesicae*] Raised indiscriminately from the two conterminous provinces.

*nube ipsa*] Of dust; it seems hardly Latin to talk as we do of 'a cloud of cavalry.' *Oblitos* is probably proleptic.

*suasor auctorque*] 'I will make myself responsible for the policy I recommend,' i.e. I will act on it with or without the leave of others.

9 *quibus fortuna in integro est*] 'Non dum adversam fortunam experti, ut Bedriaci Othoniani, qui jam Vespasiano accesserant, ii. 86' (i. 2), Or. But the antithesis is between *vos* and *mihi*, and Antonius (l.c.) had *not* fought for Otho. He must mean, 'As you have not committed yourselves, you need not now. I' (the desperate convict, Tac. thinks, though Antonius does not say) 'will not shrink from decisive action on my own account.'

*Italiam*] A correction for *militiam* —which would be a strange phrase, but perhaps not too strange for Tac. It would have to mean more than 'the campaign opened' —the field

oculis, truci voce, quo latius audiretur (etenim se centuriones et quidam militum consilio miscuerant,) ita effudit ut cautos quoque ac providos permoveret, volgus et ceteri unum virum ducemque, spreta aliorum segnitia, laudibus ferrent. Hanc <sup>2</sup> sui famam ea statim contione commoverat, qua, recitatis Vespasiani epistolis, non ut plerique incerta disseruit, <sup>2</sup> huc illuc tracturus interpretatione, prout conduxisset : aperte descendisse in causam videbatur, eoque gravior militibus erat, <sup>4</sup> culpae vel gloriae socius. Proxima Cornelii Fisci procuratoris auctoritas. Is quoque, inclementer in Vitellium invehi solitus, nihil spei sibi inter adversa reliquerat. T. Ampius Flavianus, <sup>2</sup> natura ac senecta cunctatior, suspiciones militum irritabat, tamquam adfinitatis cum Vitellio meminisset ; idemque quod,

cleared for our operations. The text is easy enough, being paralleled by Cic. *Phil.* vii. 1. 2, *reserare nos exteris gentibus Italiam*. Cf. ii. 17. 1, though there the verb is different.

Ch. III. 1 *se . . . consilio miscuerant*] The council must therefore apparently have been held out of doors. *Consilium* is often used in the concrete sense, though never without relation to the common one; it is a *council of counsellors*. *Concilium*, on the other hand, is often an assembly, not necessarily select—though more official than *contio*.

2 *epistolis*] Cf. ii. 82. 5.

*interpretatione*] A correction for *-nem*, in which Ernesti has been followed by other editors, saying, ‘*dicta hue illuc trahuntur, non interpretatio*.’ One would translate the reading of the text—‘made a speech, not, like most men, ambiguous, with the intent to force it to either side by the construction he gave it ;’ but it may be doubted if that of the ms. may not fairly mean ‘with the intent to force the construction he gave it to either side.’

*descendisse in*] Used of entering

on any competition (Livy xxxvi. 7 ; Ilor. *Od.* iii. 1. 7, etc.), though commonly the accus. is of the contest entered on, not the side chosen. This is in fact a pregnant construction, ‘committed himself to the conflict, by committing himself on the cause.’

*gravior*] A correction for *gravior*, which would be harsh in construction with the dat., and, if admissible, would be as likely to mean ‘the more offensive,’ as ‘of the more weight.’

Ch. IV. 1 *solitus*] Even before the revolt?

2 T. *Amplus*] The second name never occurs without the first ; some read *Tampius*.

*cunctatior*] This form is questioned by Dräger, who would read *cunctantior* in all the passages (all in silver-age writers) where it occurs ; but in Plin. *Ep.* ii. 16. 4 it is coupled with *cautior*, as though he considered the form a regular one from the past partic. used adjectively, else we might think it was virtually a comparative of *cunctator*, which we had used similarly in ii. 25. 2 as a term of mild censure.

*adfinitatis*] Not traceable.

coeptante legionum motu, profugus, dein sponte remeaverat, perfidiae locum quaesisse credebatur. Nam Flavianum, 3 omissa Pannonia, ingressum Italianam, et discrimini exemptum, rerum novarum cupido legati nomen resumere et misceri civilibus armis impulerat, suadente Cornelio Fusco, non quia industria Flaviani egebat, sed ut consolare nomen surgentibus cum maxime partibus honesta specie praetenderetur. Ceterum ut transmittere in Italianam impune et usui foret, 5 scriptum Aponio Saturnino, cum exercitu Moesico celeraret. Ac ne inermes provinciae barbaris nationibus exponerentur, 2 principes Sarmatarum Iazugum, penes quos civitatis regimen, in commilitum adsciti. Plebem quoque et vim equitum, 3 qua sola valent, offerebant: remissum id munus, ne inter discordias externa molirentur, aut, majore ex diverso mercede, jus fasque exuerent. Trahuntur in partes Sido atque Italicus, 4

**perfidiae locum**] As his first instinct had been to desert the army, it seemed that his deliberate purpose in returning to it must have been to betray it, not to serve in it; but, says Tac., he really had no purpose more deliberate than restless vanity.

**3 discrimini exemptum**] The revolt of the army had not been due to him (ii. 86. 4), but it is significant of the state of discipline, that no one should have suspected that it was.

**non quia . . . egebat**] He would have been hard up if he had been dependent for energy on a man *natura ac senecta cunctior*.

**consulare . . . praetenderetur**] 'But in order that the name of a consular might cover the *revolt at its most critical moment* with a show of honourable character.' *Surgentibus* (as well as *partibus*, see on i. 13. 10) seems to indicate, not the *rising* party only, but the *revolutionary*; *cum maxime*, from its position in the sentence, must be taken with *surgentibus*, not *praetenderetur*, and

can be translated as above, if taken to emphasise, so to speak, the *tense* of the present partic. rather than its root. If this be inadmissible, the sense must be 'that the party of movement in particular [as that most in want of something to give it respectability], might secure the cover of,' etc.

CH. V. 1 **Aponio**] ii. 96. 1.

2 **exponerentur**] This sense and construction of the word is not common, and apparently post-Augustan.

3 **Externa molirentur**] 'Raise foreign disturbances'—when armed and broken in to fighting, begin fighting on their own account; cf. i. 2. 2. The second dread (*aut . . . exuerent*) is, that they might desert to Vitellius, which the Flavian party are, not without some irony, represented as conceiving to be worse treason than revolting from Rome altogether.

4 **Sido**] *Ann.* xii. 29. 2, 30. 4.

**Italicus**] A namesake, and so perhaps a relation, of the Cheruscan king of *Ann.* xi. 16 sq.

reges Suevorum, quis vetus obsequium erga Romanos, et gens fidei commissae patientior. Posita in latus auxilia, infesta Raetia, cui Porcius Septiminus procurator erat, incorruptae erga Vitellium fidei. Igitur Sextilius Felix, cum ala Auriana 5 et octo cohortibus ac Noricorum juventute, ad occupandam ripam Aeni fluminis, quod Raetos Noricosque interfluit, missus. Nec his aut illis praelium tentantibus, fortuna 6 partium alibi transacta.

6 Antonio, vexillarios e cohortibus et partem equitum ad invadendam Italiam rapiendi, comes fuit Arrius Varus, strenuus bello; quam gloriam et dux Corbulo et prosperae in Armenia res addiderant. Idem secretis apud Neronem sermonibus 2 ferebatur Corbulonis virtutes criminatus; unde, infami gratia primum pilum adepto, laeta ad praesens male parta, mox in

**fidei commissae patientior]**  
*Fides* may be used of either side of an honourable mutual relation, 'trust' or 'trustworthiness,' e.g. Ov. *Tr.* iv. 3. 14: '*Deque fide certa sit tibi certa fides*,' 'Have thou sure faith in her sure faithfulness.' Here it would be harder to use identical or even cognate words, but the sense seems to be—'more patient under the obligation of *allegiance* to Rome, because they were *trusted* by Rome;' the *fides* of which the nation was *patientior* being different from that which was *commissa*. Perhaps 'more tolerant of allegiance, because it rested on confidence,' would express the sense. It seems impossible to make *patientior* mean 'more faithful to trust reposed in them,' but if a little modification of the common sense of *fides commissa* may be allowed, a better and simpler translation would be, 'less restless under a sense of having pledged their faith' and parted with their freedom of action. The comparison suggested by *patientior* is probably any way with what the Iazyges were, rather

than with what the Suevi would have been, but for their honourable relations with Rome.

**auxilia]** The *ala*, *cohortes*, and *juventus* of the next §. They must have marched south of Raetia, but the route is not very clearly stated. How did the Suevi effect their junction (21. 3) with the main army, while Raetia lay between?

**5 juventute]** 'Native levies,' C. and B.; see on i. 68. 2.

**CH. VI. 1 Arrius Varus]** *Ann.* xiii. 9. 3.

**quam . . . addiderant]** He was known to have been trained in a good school and acted worthily of his training; but, Tac. goes on, while his past justified the belief that he was a good soldier, no one believed him a good man.

**2 laeta ad praesens male parta]** Not so much 'present success ill gotten,' as though *laeta* were so completely become a subst. that it could bear the partic. agreeing with it, but a sort of asyndeton 'immediate success [but] that ill-gotten.'

perniciem vertere. Sed Primus ac Varus, occupata Aquileia, 3  
*per* proxima quaeque et Opitergii et Altini laetis animis  
accipiuntur. Relictum Altini praesidium adversus classen  
Ravennatem, nondum defectione ejus audita. Inde Patavium  
et Ateste partibus adjunxere. Illic cognitum tris Vitellianas 4  
cohortes et alam, cui Seboniana nomen, ad Forum Alieni  
ponte juncto consedisse. Placuit occasio invadendi incuriosos: 5  
nam id quoque nuntiabatur. Luce prima inermos plerosque  
oppressere. Praedictum ut paucis interfectis ceteros pavore  
ad mutandam fidem cogerent. Et fuere qui se statim dederent. 6  
7 Plures, abrupto ponte, instanti hosti viam abstulerunt. Vol-  
gata victoria, post principia belli secundum Flavianos duae  
legiones, septima Galbiana, tertia decima Gemina, cum Vedio  
Aquila legato Patavium alacres veniunt. Ibi pauci dies ad 2  
requiem sumpti, et Minucius Justus praefectus castrorum  
legionis septimae, quia adductius quam civili bello imperita-  
bat, subtractus militum irae ad Vespasianum missus est.  
Desiderata diu res interpretatione gloriaque *in* majus accipitur, 3

**perniciem**] Too strong a term to refer to any disgrace he may have sustained under Galba, or to his supersession (iv. 68. 2) in the command of the Praetorians. We have no notice of his final fate.

**3 defectione**] Described at the end of Book ii.

**4 Forum Alieni**] Was it, like Vicetia (8. 2), connected with Caecina's family? If so, his father or grandfather probably came to Cisalpine Gaul as an official, or he could scarcely have founded or given name to a *Forum*. Although the country was originally Tuscan, and in some districts remained so, the Caecinae seem to have belonged to the better known Tuscany, where there is a river of the same name.

**5 id**] That they were *incuriosi*.

**Ch. VII. 1 principia belli secun-  
dum F.**] 'After the beginning of

the war *had gone* in favour of the Flavians.' Tac. would have put a partic. like *γενόμενα* if the Latin language had possessed one, but *facta* would clearly have been inappropriate.

**Galbiana**] We had the same form in i. 51. 5; the *i* is irregularly inserted, perhaps because men were used to troops being known by titles so formed from *gentile* names (i. 70. 1, iii. 5. 5, 6. 4, etc.); and the false analogy would be the more readily followed, because there was a *Septima Claudiana*. It has been noticed that the same anomaly occurs in the word *Christianus*; probably the earliest example is *Varianus*, *Ann.* i. 10. 3, etc.

**2 adductius**] So used in *Ann.* xii. 7. 6, xiv. 4. 8; *Germ.* 44. 1.

**3 interpretatione gloriaque**] 'By alleging a motive that served as a

postquam Galbae imagines discordia temporum subversas in omnibus municipiis recoli jussit Antonius, decorum pro causa ratus, si placere Galbae principatus et partes revirescere S crederentur. Quaesitum inde quae sedes bello legeretur. Verona potior visa, patentibus circum campis ad pugnam equestrem, qua praevalebant: simul coloniam copiis validam auferre Vitellio, in rem famamque videbatur. Possessa ipso 2 transitu Vicetia; quod per se parum (etenim modicae municipio vires,) magni momenti locum obtinuit, reputantibus illic Caecinam genitum et patriam hostium duci ereptam. In Veronensibus pretium fuit: exemplo opibusque partes juvere. Et interjectus exercitus *per* Raetiam Juliasque Alpes 3 ac ne pervium illa Germanicis exercitibus foret, obseperat. Quae ignara Vespasiano aut vetita: quippe Aquileiae sisti bellum exspectarique Mucianum jubebat, adiciebatque imperio

boast.' M. has *gloriaeque majus*, whence Bekker read *gloriae in majus*: most others as in text.

*recoli*] To be replaced in their old honourable — one might say sacred — position.

*partes revirescere*] That it was Galba's party reviving, not a new one starting.

CH. VIII. 1 *potior*] Than Aquileia, which was (§ 3) practically the alternative; if there had been more than two courses open, *potissima* would have been required.

*qua praevalebant*] Rather 'in which their chief strength lay' than 'in which they were stronger' than the enemy. They had (2. 7) fewer legions than the enemy, probably fewer legionaries, and, it appears, fewer soldiers on the whole, but not by very much; still it was the miscellaneous *cohortes alaeque* that redressed, but did not destroy, the inequality.

2 *parum*] Though an adv., not an adj., like its opposite *satis* has enough independence to stand as a

predicate; and Tac. thinks that, as he might have said *quod cum per se parum esset* just as well as *quod cum per se parvum esset*, so he might put *quod per se parum*, as though *parum* were an adj. agreeing with *quod*.

*pretium*] Used absol. in the sense in which *operae pretium* is commoner; so *Ann.* i. 57. 4, ii. 35. 1.

3 *Et interjectus . . . obseperat*] The first words in M. run, *et interjectus exercitus ptiam*, the abbreviation in the last standing for *praetiam*. For this *per Raetiam* is no doubt the *facilior lectio*, but the simple *Raetiam* has the recommendation of *difficilior interpretatio*, and yet suits the sense better when once understood. At Verona the army blocked Raetia and the passes north and east of them, which both cut off the Vitellian troops in Raetia itself, and prevented its being a thoroughfare for the Vitellian troops beyond it. *Interjectus* is certainly right, though the old copies have *interceptus*.

*jubebat*] He at this very time

consilium, quando Aegyptus, claustra annonae, vectigalia opulentissimaruin provinciarum obtinerentur, posse Vitellii exercitum egestate stipendii frumentique ad deditonem subigi. Eadem Mucianus crebris epistolis monebat, incruentam et + sine luctu victoram et alia hujuscemodi praetexendo, sed gloriae avidus atque omne belli decus sibi retinens. Ceterum ex distantibus terrarum spatiis consilia post res adferebantur.

9 Igitur repentina incursu Antonius stationes hostium inrupit, tentatisque levi praelio animis ex aequo discessum. Mox 2 Caecina inter Hostiliam, vicum Veronensium, et paludes Tartari fluminis castra permuniit, tutus loco, cum terga flumine, latera objectu paludis tegerentur. Quodsi adfuisset fides, aut opprimi universis Vitellianorum viribus duae legiones, nondum conjuncto Moesico exercitu, potuere, aut, retro actae, deserta Italia, turpem fugam conscivissent. Sed Caecina per 3 varias moras prima hostibus prodidit tempora belli, dum quos armis pellere promptum erat, epistolis increpat, donec per nuntios pacta perfidiae firmaret. Interim Aponius Saturninus 4

was despatching orders; the antithesis, *ignara aut vetita*, is—‘He did not know of them, perhaps had forbidden them, at the time they were done.’ Tac. does not mean that he had given standing orders before the troops moved at all, still less (as appears from the end of this chap.), that Vespasian’s generals ventured to disregard his expressed directions.

**Aegyptus . . . vectigalia]** So far as sense goes, *claustra annonae* would doubtless be in apposition with *Aegyptus*; but the transition from apposition to asyndeton is too harsh to have been consciously intended by Tac. Rather, he gives us a δύο διὰ τριῶν, in the sense in which one talks of ἐν διὰ δυοῖν.

**4 sed]** Introduces his real motive, and so is put as an antithesis to the pretext. But sometimes (e.g. Plaut.

*Aul.* 3. 6. 37, *si vera l.*, *Juv.* iii. 132, iv. 27), *sed* seems to have rather an illative than an adversative force, like our ‘but then,’ or even ‘but also;’ and here we might hesitate whether ‘but really’ or ‘but also’ were the better equivalent of the writer’s meaning.

**CH. IX. 1 tentatis . . . animis]** ‘Their feelings,’ i.e. of loyalty, not their daring.

**2 permuniit]** Perhaps ‘completed the defences,’ which on three sides were provided by nature, or else *tutus loco* will be a reason, not for, but against, his conduct—‘went on carefully with fortifications’ that were not needed, instead of striking a decisive blow.

**3 prodidit tempora]** So we have often in Demosthenes, πωλεῖν, πρασθατ, or προδέδονται καιρόν, e.g. *De F.L.*, p. 343, § 6, *Phil.* 3. p. 120-1. § 48.

cum legione septima Claudiana advenit. Legioni tribunus Vipstanus Messalla praerat, claris majoribus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset. Has ad 5 copias nequaquam Vitellianis pares, (quippe tres adhuc legiones erant,) misit epistolas Caecina, temeritatem victa arma tractantium incusans. Simul virtus Germanici exercitus laudibus attollebatur, Vitellii modica et volgari mentione, nulla in Vespasianum contumelia: nihil prorsus quod aut corrumperet hostem aut terrorret. Flavianarum partium duces, 6 omissa prioris fortunae defensione, pro Vespasiano magnifice, pro causa fidenter, de exercitu securi, in Vitellium ut inimici praesumpsere, facta tribunis centurionibusque retinendi quae Vitellius indulsisset spe. Atque ipsum Caecinam non obscure ad transitionem hortabantur. Recitatae pro contione epis- 7 tolae addidere fiduciam, quod submisso Caecina, velut offendere Vespasianum timens, ipsorum duces contemptim, tamquam insultantes Vitello, scripsissent.

4 **Claudiana**] Not raised by Claudius, but having received the title (as we might say, 'the Emperor's own'), for its fidelity at the time of the conspiracy of Camillus Scribonianus.—Dio ix.

15.

**tribunus . . . praerat**] The regular commander having fled, ii. 85. 3.

**Messalla**] We have his history quoted below, 25. 3, 28. 1; he is also an interlocutor in the Dialogue *de Oratoribus*.

**artes bonas**] 'A good character,' in the widest sense.

6 **omissa . . . defensione**] They did not say, 'Those of us who fought for Otho were beaten only by chance, and are as good troops as you.' It was wished, both by Caecina and by the Flavian generals, to keep Vitellius' own attached troops in good humour, while

betraying them into a reluctant abandonment of him.

**exercitu** gives a clear enough sense: 'while confident in their cause, there was nothing in the army to make them afraid'; though they did not excuse their defeat in detail, they did not ignore the taunt, but *said* they ignored it. The conjecture *exitu* is easy and needless. Notice that while they speak *in the name of Vespasian* and their cause, they only speak *of their army*.

**praesumpsere**] 'Made sure beforehand' of a successful issue—did not 'hedge.'

**facta . . . spe**] 'Holding out prospects'—probably avowedly; thus clause will balance clause—(1) *virtus . . . attollebatur = omissa . . . defensione*; (2) *Vitellii . . . mentione = pro Vespasiano magnifice*; (3) *nulla . . . contumelia = in Vitellium . . . praesumpsere*; (4) *nihil . . . hostem*

10 Adventu deinde duarum legionum, e quibus tertiam Dillius Aponianus, octavam Numisius Lupus ducebant, ostentare vires et militari vallo Veronam circumdare placuit. Forte Galbianaee legioni in adversa fronte valli opus cesserat, et visi procul sociorum equites vanam formidinem, ut hostes, fecere. Rapiuntur arma, et ut prodigionis ira militum in 2 T. Ampium Flavianum incubuit, nullo criminis argumento, sed jam pridem invisus, turbine quodam ad exitium poscebatur: propinquum Vitellii, proditorem Othonis, interceptorem donativi clamitabant. Nec defensioni locus, quamquam sup- 3 plices manus tenderet, humi plerumque stratus, lacera veste, pectus atque ora singultu quatiens. Id ipsum apud infensos incitamentum erat, tamquam nimius pavor conscientiam argueret. Obturbatur militum vocibus Aponius, cum loqui 4 coepタret; fremitu et clamore ceteros aspernabantur. Uni Antonio apertae militum aures: namque et facundia aderat mulcendique volgum artes et auctoritas. Ubi crudescere 5 seditio, et a conviciis ac probris ad tela et manus transibant,

=facta . . . spe. Then the two clauses, *pro causa fidenter, de exercitu securi*, come in to prevent the symmetry being too formal, while yet in sense, though not in form, they balance partly *temeritatem*, partly *nihil quod . . . terret*.

CH. X. 1 **adversa**] Facing the enemy, who were still at Hostilia.

2 **prodigionis ira militum**] Similar instances of a subjective and objective genitive side by side are found in Cic. *de N.D.*, ii. 63. 158, *canum . . . amoena dominorum adulatio*; *Tusc. Dis.* iv. 13. 31, *animi multarum rerum brevi tempore percusionem*; *De Leg. Agr.* i. 1. 3 (*si vera l.*)

3 **plerumque**] He tried to get them to listen to him by gestures of submission, which he carried so far as to prostrate himself *most of the*

time,—he doubtless got up and tried to speak, and then, failing, lay down again.

4 **fremitu et clamore**] For the omission of *cum*, cf. i. 27. 5; here the abl. comes about as near an instrumental sense as there to a causal. See also the notes on i. 55. 1, 5 for Tacitus' tendency to make the simple case do very varied duty.

et **facundia . . . et auctoritas**] His two qualifications were, the power of effective speech and of influencing the will through the confidence felt in him; then to the former it is added that he possessed the trick as well as the talent that makes speech effective. But for the double *et*, marking an antithesis to which *que* is subordinated, one might take *mulcendi* as depending on *auctoritas* as well as *artes*.

inici catenas Flaviano jubet. Sensit ludibrium miles, disiectisque qui tribunal tuebantur, extrema vis parabatur. Opposuit 6 sinum Antonius, stricto ferro, aut militum se manibus aut suis moriturum obtestans; ut quemque notum et aliquo militari decore insignem aspicerat, ad ferendam opem nomine ciens. Mox conversus ad signa et bellorum deos, hostium 7 potius exercitibus illum furorem, illam discordiam inicerent orabat, donec fatisceret seditio, et, extremo jam die, sua quisque in tentoria dilaberentur. Profectus eadem nocte 8 Flavianus obviis Vespasiani litteris discrimini exemptus est.

Legiones, velut tabe infectae, Aponium Saturninum, Moesici exercitus legatum, eo atrocis adgrediuntur, quod non, ut prius, labore et opere fessae, sed medio diei exarserant, volgatis epistolis quas Saturninus ad Vitellium scripsisse credebatur. Ut olim virtutis modestiaeque, tunc procacitatis 2 et petulantiae certamen erat, ne minus violenter Aponium

5 *ludibrium*] As in i. 45. 5, 58.

1. 4, 5.

6 *stricto ferro . . . obtestans*]

A caricature of what was a little theatrical even in Germanicus, *Ann.* i. 35. 5.

7 *decore*] Probably concrete, 'decoration,' though hardly as technical as that has become; it does not necessarily mean more than 'distinction.'

7 *signa et bellorum deos*] 'εὐ òia òovoū. Cf. *A.* ii. 17. 2.' Or. There live eagles are called *propria legionum numina*. The native un-hellenised parts of Roman religion were rather fetishistic than idolatrous, *i.e.* sacred objects (such as the standards) were thought to be themselves divine, not the symbols or the abodes of a divinity conceived as distinct from them.

*hostium*] Notice the use of the word in the passion of a civil war; contrast i. 9. 3, *fin.*, which shows that in deliberate speech it would not be so applied.

8 *Profectus*] Hardly under arrest.

9 *obviis V. litteris*] 'By a letter of Vespasian's that met him;' he is sent out to Vespasian, but an account of the charge against him and its futility is sent to the latter by a quicker route, probably by sea, so that he is able to order his release even before he reaches him.

Ch. XI. 1 *eo quod*] Not mentioned as constituting the aggravation of the outbreak (as though they had less to put them out of temper), but as accounting for their greater violence; they had more energy to spare for it.

2 *medio diei*] See on i. 62. 3.

3 *volgatis epistolis*] Does Tac. mean that there was a real letter discovered, and Aponius' authorship believed? or is *epistolis quis . . . credebatur* equivalent to 'a belief in his having written letters'?

2] Tac. intends no irony, but means seriously that the soldiers were anxious to commend their own loyalty by denouncing traitors.

quam Flavianum ad supplicium deposcerent. Quippe Moesiae legiones adjutam a se Pannonicorum ultionem referentes, et Pannonicī, velut absolverentur aliorum seditione, iterare culpam gaudebant. In hortos, in quibus devertebatur Satur- 3 ninus, pergunτ. Nec tam Primus et Aponianus et Messalla, quamquam omni modo nisi, eripuere Saturninum, quam obscuritas latebrarum quibus occulebatur, vacantium forte balnearum fornacibus abdūtus. Mox, omissis lictoribus, Pata- 4 vium concessit. Digressu consularium uni Antonio vis ac potestas in utrumque exercitum fuit, cedentibus collegis et obversis militum studiis. Nec deerant qui crederent utramque seditionem fraude Antonii coeptam, ut solus bello frueretur.

12 Ne in Vitellii quidem partibus quietae mentes exitiosiore discordia, non suspicionibus volgi sed perfidia ducum, turbabantur. Lucilius Bassus, classis Ravennatis praefectus, ambiguos 1 militum animos, quod magna pars Dalmatae Pannoniique erant, quae provinciae Vespasiano tenebantur, partibus ejus adgregaverat. Nox proditioni electa, ut, ceteris ignaris, soli 3 in principia defectores coirent. Bassus pudore, seu metu quisnam exitus foret, intra domum opperiebatur. Trierarchi magno tumultu Vitellii imagines invadunt; et paucis resis-

**velut absolverentur]** Antonius had made them a little ashamed of themselves, but when their comrades did the same, they thought they could not have been wrong after all.

**3 forte]** Almost 'opportunely'; see on i. 7. 1. The lucky chance was that, as no one was using the baths, the stoves were not lighted.

**4 obversis]** 'Fixed on him;' exactly the same use as the well-known *cujus ob os Graii obvertebant ora* (Enn. ap. Cic. Tusc. iii. 18, 39). The use in 83. 1, and similar passages, though more general, is similar.

**bello]** Not 'the prizes of the war' (C. and B.); the demoralised adventurer thinks the war itself a good thing, to be made the most of and left to himself.

CH. XII. 1 It is merely a matter of conventional clearness whether we put a stop after *mentes*; *quietae* is as much a predicate as *exitiosiore* . . . *turbabantur*. 'The other side also were not without their anxieties; indeed, they had even better reason for them.'

2 See ii. 100 *sq.*

3 **paucis resistantium]** He may mean that the instinct of a good many was to resist, but it needed

tentium obtruncatis ceterum volgus rerum novarum studio in Vespasianum inclinabat. Tum progressus Lucilius auctorem + se palam praebet. Classis Cornelium Fuscum praefectum sibi destinat qui propere adcurrit. Bassus honorata custodia Liburnicis navibus Atriam pervectus, a praefecto alae Vivennio Rufino, praesidium illic agitante, vincitur. Sed exsoluta statim vincula interventu Hormi Caesaris liberti: is quoque 13 inter duces habebatur. At Caecina, defectione classis volgata, primores centurionum et paucos militum, ceteris per militiae munera dispersis, secretum castrorum adfectans in principia vocat. Ibi Vespasiani virtutem viresque partium extollit: 2 trans fugisse classem; in arto commeatum, adversas Gallias Hispaniasque, nihil in urbe fidum; atque omnia de Vitellio in deterius. Mox incipientibus qui consciit aderant, ceteros 3 re nova attonitos in verba Vespasiani adigit. Simul Vitellii imagines dereptae, et missi qui Antonio nuntiarent. Sed ubi + totis castris in fama proditio, recurrens in principia miles praescriptum Vespasiani nomen, projectas Vitellii effigies aspexit, vastum primo silentium, mox cuncta simul erumpunt. 'Huc cecidisse Germanici exercitus gloriam, ut sine praelio, 5

only a few killed to cure them of it; but more probably he means 'when the few who resisted were killed,' and would have written *resistentibus* but for the awkwardness of the two participles.

4 *Cornelium Fuscum*] ii. 86. 5.

*Caesaris*] It is rather strange that he is called so before the contest is decided, though he received the title from the army (ii. 80. 2) at the first revolt. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius received it from the Senate (if the last did at all).

is quoque . . . habebatur] Reprehensible; cf. i. 76. 8.

CII. XIII. 1 *secretum*] M. has *secretorum*, from assonance with the next word; one must read either *secretum* or *secretia*, and the sing.

seems to give the best sense—'a secret meeting.' The pl. would be—'the most private part.'

2 *in arte commeatum*] Cf. 8. 3.

*in deterius*] Exaggerating the badness of Vitellius' prospects,—very likely of his character too.

4 *in fama*] Rather a curious construction for 'in men's mouths'; cf., however, ii. 83. 2, *in incerto fore*.

*recurrens*] 'Hurrying back there' from the *militiae munera* whereby they had been distracted. They would naturally go there first to report themselves.

*vastum*] As we might say 'a desolate silence'; cf. *Ann. iii. 4. 1.*

5 *Huc cecidisse*] 'Was it fallen so low?' There is no reason why the

sine volnere, vinctas manus et capta traderent arma? quas enim ex diverso legiones? nempe victas. Et abesse unicum Othoniani exercitus robur, primanos quartadecimanosque; quos tamen isdem illis campis fuderint straverintque, ut armatorum millia, velut grex venalium, exsuli Antonio donum darentur. Octo nimirum legiones unius classis accessionem 6 fore. Id Basso, id Caecinae visum: postquam domos, hortos, opes principi abstulerint, etiam militibus principem auferre. Integros incruentosque, Flavianis quoque partibus viles, quid I 4 dicturos reposcentibus aut prospera aut adversa?' Haec singuli, haec universi, ut quemque dolor impulerat, vociferantes, initio a quinta legione orto, repositis Vitellii imaginibus vincla Caecinae iniciunt; Fabium Fabullum, quintae legionis

simple verb should not be thus used, though some of its compounds are commoner in metaphorical senses.

*vinctas . . . capta*] Proleptic, yet it would be more of a translation, 'their hands as bound, their arms as taken,' than 'their hands to bind, their arms to capture.'

*abesse . . . quartadecimanosque*] The 1st had been sent to Spain, the 14th to Britain, ii. 67. 2, 76. 2.

*ut armatorum*] Between these words the inferior MSS. insert *tot*, and to us, as well as to the scribes, 'thousands' sounds bolder in Latin than it does in English. The clause *ut . . . darentur* depends on that immediately preceding it; they had gained the victory, *only for the troops who gained it to be surrendered.*

*6 Octo . . . fore*] 'Thus, forsooth, the adhesion of one fleet would be worth eight legions,' C. and B. Apparently every other commentator takes *accessionem* 'a makeweight,' as in Liv. xlv. 39 Syphax is called *accessio belli Punici*, his conquest being a *πάρεργον*. And the order of the words makes it practically certain that *octo legiones* is the subject, not the predicate.

*principi*] M. has *principis*, but the

correction, though not necessary, is justified because it improves the style.

*militibus principem auferre* has perhaps some irony in it; with any Emperor less passive than Vitellius, you would have said *milites principi*, but, while they valued him, he had never made them feel that he either valued them or held control of them. There seem to be traces in M. of a v. l. with *militem*; it proves at least that such was the natural expression, even if we ought not to read something like Nipperdey's *etiam militem, militibus principem auferre*.

*reposcentibus*] A dat., not agreeing with *Flavianis partibus*, but = *τοῖς λόγοις ἀπαροῦσιν*, 'to whoever asked them.' *Reposeo* is so often used with *rationem* or some such word, 'to demand an account of,' that here *repscere* with an acc. is used in the same sense as *repscere rationem* with a gen., perhaps also implying that no satisfactory answer can be given; cf. the use of *requiro* almost = *desidero*.

*aut prospera aut adversa*] What use had been made of their victory, or what defeat had caused their surrender.

CII. XIV. 1 *quintae*] Either he

legatum, et Cassium Longum, praefectum castrorum, duces deligunt; forte oblatis trium Liburnicarum milites, ignaros et insontes, trucidant; relictis castris, abrupto ponte Hostilium 2 rursus, inde Cremonam pergunt, ut legionibus primae Italicae et unietvicesimae Rapaci jungerentur, quas Caecina ad obtinendam Cremonam cum parte equitum praemiserat.

15 Ubi haec comperta Antonio, discordes animis, discretos viribus hostium exercitus adgredi statuit, antequam ducibus auctoritas, militi obsequium et junctis legionibus fiducia rediret. Namque Fabium Valentem profectum ab urbe adceleraturum- 2 que cognita Caecinae proditione conjectabat; et fidus Vitellio Fabius, nec militiae ignarus. Simul ingens Germanorum vis 3 per Raetiam timebatur; et Britannia Galliaque et Hispania auxilia Vitellius acciverat, immensam belli luem, ni Antonius, id ipsum metuens, festinato praelio victoriam preecepisset. Universo cum exercitu secundis a Verona castris Bedriacum venit. Postero die, legionibus ad muniendum retentis, 4

made his men take the lead, and the army gave him the command as a reward for his promptitude, or they took the lead of themselves, and claimed the nomination to the command as a reward for theirs.

**milites**] Not the whole crews; the rowers were at the mercy of the armed men, even if personally free-men.

**2 unietvicesimae**] This seems to be the correct spelling of the dat.; both elements of *unisetvicesimus* are regularly declined. For the derivative adj., Or. usually prints *unetvicesimani*, but M., *teste ipso*, has in most cases *unactv.*, and being formed from the fem. title of the legion, this is not impossible. But the older and better MS. of the *Annals* has *unctv.* where not manifestly corrupt.

**praemiserat**] ii. 100. 1.

CH. XV. 1 antequam . . . re-

**diret**] Comparing 18. 2, 25. 1, we see how far his plan succeeded.

**2 Namque** accounts for *junctis legionibus* as well as for *antequam . . . rediret*, for he naturally supposed that Valens would have come with the reinforcements. In spite of Antonius' haste, he could (40. 2) have arrived before the battle; he did come, not only too late, but almost alone, 41. 1.

**fidus Vitellio F.**] So 62. 4. As such was the fact, Tac. sees that Antonius had to allow for the possibility; as for his being *nec militiae ignarus*, he would know even the fact.

**3 belli luem**] It is doubtful whether there is any metaphor of *pestilence* really intended; in *Ann. ii. 47. 3*, the word is used of the destruction caused by an earthquake, and so here it may mean no more than 'a fatal armed force.'

**secundis . . . castris**] 'After two

auxiliares cohortes in Cremonensem agrum missae, ut, specie parandarum copiarum, civili praeda miles inbueretur. Ipse 5 cum quattuor milibus equitum ad octavum a Bedriaco progressus, quo licentius popularentur. Exploratores, ut mos 16 est, longius curabant. Quinta ferme hora diei erat, cum citus eques adventare hostes, praegredi paucos, motum fremitumque late audiri nuntiavit. Dum Antonius quidnam agendum consultat, aviditate navandae operae Arrius Varus cum promptissimis equitum prorupit, in pulitque Vitellianos, modica caede: nam plurium ad cursu versa fortuna, et acerrimus quisque sequentium fugae ultimus erat. Nec sponte Antonii properatum, et fore quae acciderant rebatur. Hortatus suos 3 ut magno animo capesserent pugnam, diductis in latera turmis, vacuum medio relinquit iter, quo Varum equitesque ejus reciperet; jussae armari legiones; datum per agros signum ut, qua cuique proximum, omissa praeda, paelio occurreret. Pavidus interim Varus turbae suorum miscetur, intulitque 4

days' march,' as iv. 71. 4, etc., because the end of each day's march is regularly marked by the entrenchment of the camp.

4 *inbueretur*, like 'learn the taste of' in English, implies acquiring a taste *for* it. Notice that the legions are not allowed the demoralising work of plunder before a battle, even though plundering for its own sake was desired.

5 *longius curabant*] 'Extended their reconnaissances further,' a pregnant expression for *longius in suas curas progrediebantur*.

CH. XVI. 1 *eques*] One of the *exploratores*, in advance of Antonius' own horse.

2 nam . . . versa fortuna accounts for *modica caede*; the Vitellians did not lose very much, for they were reinforced, and were then victorious. Then, as *modica caede* (at least in the light of the next clause) implies that the Flavians

lost more, he proceeds to account for *this*.

*fugae ultimus*] Either 'the last in the flight' or 'the last to take to flight,' even when outnumbered. The latter is perhaps better; it accounts, as just noticed, for the heavy Flavian loss, while the other is something of a truism.

*Nec . . . et*] He had not desired the attack, and therefore, when it was made, expected the repulse; but, for that very reason, he was prepared to meet the emergency when it occurred.

3 *reciperet*] The sing., because it is Antonius, not the soldiers, who are responsible for it; contrast 18. 2 for what soldiers *without* a leader do.

*occurret*] So M., and *quisque* is readily supplied from *cuique* as the subject; the secondary MSS. thought *-rent* easier.

4 *Pavidus . . . Varus*] Tac.

formidinem. Pulsi cum sauciis integri suomet ipsi metu et 17 angustiis viarum conflictabantur. Nullum in illa trepidatione Antonius constantis ducis aut fortissimi militis officium omisit. O cursare paventibus, retinere cedentes, ubi plurimus labor, unde aliqua spes, consilio manu voce insignis hosti, conspicuus suis. Eo postremo ardoris provectus est, ut vexillarium 2 fugientem hasta transverberaret. Mox raptum vexillum in hostem vertit. Quo pudore haud plures quam centum equites restitere. Juvit locus, artiore illic via, et fracto interfluentis rivi ponte, qui incerto alveo et praecipitibus ripis fugam impeditiebat. Ea necessitas, seu fortuna, lapsas jam partes 3 restituit. Firmati inter se densis ordinibus excipiunt Vitellianos temere effusos. Atque illi consternantur. Antonius instare perculsis, sternere obvios. Simul ceteri, ut cuique 4 ingenium, spoliare, capere, arma equosque abripere. Et exciti prospero clamore, qui modo per agros fuga palabantur, accounts him a good soldier, and does not mean here to charge him with personal cowardice; but by a metonymy common in all languages, he is spoken of when his division is meant.

**turbae]** Includes the notions of a large body and a disorderly one.

**CII. XVII. i ubi . . . unde]** The difference between the two is obvious, but untranslateable by means of the adverbs themselves; 'wherever the pressure was hardest, wherever any hope could be found,' perhaps expresses it.

**consilio manu voce]** We get the two latter coupled again in 29. 4; also *Ann. ii. 17. 5, manu voce vulnera*. *Consilio*, not 'by his encouragement,' which would be too near in sense to *voce*, but 'by his skill;' *manu*, by his example in fighting, not merely by gesticulation.

**2 Quo pudore]** 'Touched by the reproach,' C. and B., rightly; see on 2. 7.

**restitere]** A correction for *resis-*

*tere*. The general rule, that the historical *infin.* is used when a *series* of verbs come in quick succession, admits of exceptions in Tac. (e.g. i. 50. 2), as in other authors; but the finite tense seems here to harmonise better with the tone, and at 29. 4 M. has the *vox nihil resisterant*, a mistake exactly paralleling that supposed here. Note the pregnant brevity of Tacitus' way of saying that a party of cavalry did stop, and how few they were; cf. ii. 41. 4.

**incerto alveo]** The uncertain footing in its bed, both from the varying depth of the water and the character of the bottom.

**3 Atque]** One of the passages where the word seems to have the sense of 'immediately,' as in *Virg. Georg. i. 203, Liv. xxvi. 39, atque ille praecipit cum armis procidit*. M. has *illie* for the next word, whence an ill-regulated ingenuity might conjecture *atque illico*.

**4 abripere]** From prisoners,

18 victoriae se miscebant. Ad quartum a Cremona lapidem fulsere legionum signa Rapacis atque Italicae, laeto inter initia equitum suorum praelio illuc usque provecta. Sed ubi 2 fortuna contra fuit, non laxare ordines, non recipere turbatos, non obviam ire ultiroque adgredi hostem, tantum per spatium cursu et pugnando fessum. Forte victi, haud perinde rebus prosperis ducem desideraverant, atque in adversis deesse intellegebant. Nutantem aciem vicit equitatus incursat; et 3 Vipstanus Messalla tribunus cum Moesicis auxiliaribus adse-quitur, quos † militiae (*multi e?*) legionariis quamquam raptim ductos aequabant. Ita mixtus pedes equesque rupere legionum 4 agmen. Et propinqua Cremonensium moenia, quanto plus spei ad effugium, minorem ad resistendum animum dabant.

19 Nec Antonius ultra institit, memor laboris ac volnerum, quibus tam anceps praelii fortuna, quamvis prospero fine, equites equosque afflictaverat. Inumbrante vespera universum 2 Flaviani exercitus robur advenit. Utque cumulos super et recentia caede vestigia incessere, quasi debellatum foret,

*spoliare* being properly or chiefly of the slain.

CH. XVIII. 1 *fulsere*] So 82. 2, Hor. *Od.* i. 7. 19, *fulgentia signis Castra*. It may be questioned whether the reference is chiefly to the metal plates on the standards, or the bright colours of the banners hung from them.

*equitum* depends on *praelio*, not *initia*.

2 *Forte victi*] ‘Defeated by accident,’ as iv. 34. 7, without apparently any sense of coincidence, as is usual. When used absolutely, it generally means ‘at random.’

3 *militiae*] The attempt to make sense of this, the ms. reading, by writing *militia e* as two words, and taking *militia* as a collective, is rather ingenious than probable. *Militia* does sometimes mean ‘a body of

soldiers’ as distinguished from civilians, but can hardly mean one body of soldiers as distinguished from another. C. and B.’s translation, ‘whom *long service* had made as good soldiers as the legionaries,’ scarcely gives the required antithesis to *quamquam raptim ductos*.

4 *minorem*] Notice the omission of *tanto*—not uncommon in Tac. (e.g. *Ann.* ii. 5. 2), though here it has displeased some of his transcribers.

CH. XIX. 2 *cumulos super et recentiae caede vestigia*] *εν διὰ δύον*, the *cumulos* having its sense fixed by *caede*, while the nature of the *vestigia* is defined by *cumulos*. The expression is suggested by Virg. *Aen.* ix. 455 sq., *Corpora semine-cesque viros, tepidaque recentem Caede locum*; cf. also *Ann.* iv. 52. 2, *recens practura*.

pergere Cremonam, et victos in deditio[n]em accipere aut expugnare deposcunt. Haec in medio, pulchra dictu. Illa 3 sibi quisque, 'posse coloniam plano sitam impetu capi. Idem audaciae per tenebras inrumpentibus, et majorem rapiendi licentiam. Quodsi lucem opperiantur, jam pacem, jam preces et pro labore ac vulneribus clementiam et gloriam, inania, laturos: sed opes Cremonensium in sinu praefectorum legato-rumque fore. Expugnatae urbis praedam ad militem, deditae ad duces pertinere.' Spernuntur centuriones tribunique, ac 4 ne vox cujusquam audiatur, quatiunt arma, rupturi imperium, 20 ni ducantur. Tum Antonius, inserens se manipulis, ubi aspectu et auctoritate silentium fecerat, non se decus neque pretium eripere tam bene meritis adfirmabat, 'sed divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia: militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione sae-pius quam temeritate, prodesse. Ut pro virili portione, armis 2 ac manu, victoriam juverit, ratione et consilio, propriis ducis artibus, profuturum. Neque enim ambigua esse quae occur-rant, noctem et ignotae situm urb[is], intus hostes et cuncta insidiis opportuna. Non si pateant portae, nisi explorato, 3 nisi die, intrandum. An obpugnationem inchoaturos, adempto omni prospectu, quis aequus locus, quanta altitudo moenium,

3 in medio] Not only 'in public,' but 'in the common interest,' like *in medium consulere*; so opp. to *sibi quisque*.

plano] Tac. is likely to have used the simple abl., though he puts *in plano sita* at v. 23. 4 fin. In 38. 2 we have *vicino sitam*, which is less easy than this; but Or. points out that both here and there *in* had facilities for falling out after *m.*

sinu] See on ii. 92. 5.

Expugnatae . . . pertinere] We have a similar sentiment in Liv. xxxvii. 32; but here there is more sarcasm. Livy says that it rests

with the general to spare a town, Tac. that it rests with him to levy a contribution, for which he gives no account.

4 rupturi imperium] So *Ann.* xiii. 36. 3.

Ch. XX. 2 pro virili portione] So Tac. writes here and *Agr.* 45. 3; in Cic. and Liv. *parte* is more usual. This passage illustrates the origin of the phrase—he has done his part as a *man* like any other, he will do his part as a *general*.

3 Non si pateant portae] Cf. Liv. v. 39. 4, where the Gauls, after the victory on the Allia, are said thus to have acted.

tormentisne et telis an operibus et vineis adgredienda urbs foret.' Mox conversus ad singulos, 'num secures dolabrasque 4 et cetera expugnandis urbibus secum attulissent' rogitabat. Et cum abnuerent, 'gladiisne,' inquit, 'et pilis perfringere ac subruere muros ulla manus possunt? Si aggerem struere, 5 si pluteis cratibusve protegi necesse fuerit, ut volgus improvidum, inriti stabimus, altitudinem turrium et aliena munimenta mirantes? Quin potius mora noctis unius, advectis tormentis machinisque, vim victoriamque nobiscum ferimus?' Simul 6 lixas calonesque, cum recentissimis equitum, Bedriacum mittit, 21 copias ceteraque usui adlaturos. Id vero aegre tolerante milite, prope seditionem ventum, cum progressi equites sub ipsa moenia vagos ex Cremonensibus corripiunt, quorum indicio noscitur sex Vitellianas legiones, omnemque exercitum qui Hostiliae egerat, eo ipso die triginta milia passuum emensum, comperta suorum clade in praelium accingi ac jam adfore. Is terror obstructas mentes consiliis ducis aperuit. 2 Sistere tertiam decimam legionem in ipso viae Postumiae aggere jubet, cui juncta a laevo septima Galbiana patenti campo stetit, dein septima Claudiana, agresti fossa (ita locus erat,) praemunita; dextro octava per apertum limitem, mox

5 aliena munimenta] The enemy will have the cover the besieged need, while we have not that proper for besiegers.

6 recentissimis] Not merely 'the freshest,' i.e. least exhausted, but the latest arrived (19. 2), who thus had not been engaged at all.

usui] Anybody else would have written *quae usui forent*, but Tac. thinks the dat. has as good a right as e.g. *frugi*, to be treated as virtually an adj.

CH. XXI. I Hostiliae] 9. 2.

2 aggere... patenti campo... fossa... limitem... arbustis] See the description of the scene of the previous battle, ii. 41-43, and

notes. The ground was of the same character here as there, as well as in the same neighbourhood, but not on precisely the same spot. Tac. always speaks of *Cremonense praelium*; it was, however, less unreasonable a license to identify Bedriacum and Cremona than Pharsalia and Philippi.

limitem] In its etymological sense, a cross road at right angles to the highway. This combines, no doubt, with the common meaning, 'a boundary, baulk;' it separated two properties, and perhaps led to a third. The 13th legion were probably drawn up *altis ordinibus* (as at ii. 24. 4), to make the most of the firm

tertia densis arbustis intersepta. Hic aquilarum signorumque 3 ordo: milites mixti per tenebras, ut fors tulerat; praetorianum vexillum proximum tertianis, cohortes auxiliorum in cornibus; latera ac terga equite circumdata; Sido atque Italicus, Suevi, 22 cum delectis popularium primo in acie versabantur. At Vitellianus exercitus (cui adquiescere Cremonae, et, recipératis cibo somnoque viribus, confectum algore atque inedia hostem postera die profligare ac proruere ratio fuit,) indigus rectoris, inops consilii, tertia ferme noctis hora paratis jam dispositisque Flavianis inpingitur. Ordinem agminis disjecti per iram ac 2 tenebras adseverare non ausim, quamquam alii tradiderint quartam Macedonicam dextro suorum cornu, quintam et quintam decimam, cum vexillis nonae secundaeque et vice-simae Britannicarum legionum, medium aciem, sextadecimanos duoetvicesimanosque et primanos laevum cornu complèsses. Rapaces atque Italici omnibus se manipulis miscuerant. 3 Eques auxiliaque sibi ipsi locum legere. Praelium tota nocte varium, anceps, atrox; his, rursus illis exitiabile. Nihil animus aut manus, ne oculi quidem provisu juvabant. Eadem 4

footing; to the left the ground was clear, or better, but on the right, the lane was the only place where men could stand in continuous line; the further right, beyond the lane, was broken up by the rows of trees in the vineyard.

3 *ut fors tulerat*] 'As it had fallen out; ' *tulerat* is intr.; *fors* is probably derived from *fero*, in this sense 'the tendency of things,' and often coupled with it, e.g. *Virg. Aen. ii. 94, fors si qua tulisset.*

**proximum tertianis**] No doubt beyond them—perhaps clear of the vineyards.

**Suevi**] Sup. 5. 4.

**Cii. XXII. 1 algore**] It was the latter end of October, not later, as (31. 7) Caecina's consulship was not yet over; but not much earlier, as the news of his treason, zealously

reported, only reached Vitellius on the 30th.

**cui . . . ratio fuit**] 'For whom the (appropriate) plan of action was . . .' The same construction of *ratio est* with inf. is found in *Cic. Verr. i. 9. 24, id. Caec. 5. 15.*

**2 quartam . . . cornu**] Tac. meant to have put *stetisse, locatos esse*, or some such word, but having varied the construction for variety's sake, he leaves the first clause without any. There is even a slight zeugma in *medium aciem . . . complèsses*; the verb is more appropriate to the last named element of the lines.

**3 Rapaces atque Italici**] Disordered and demoralised by their defeat in the afternoon (18. 2), but still eager to fight.

**sibi ipsi**] For want of a general acquainted with the army as a whole.

utraque acie arma ; crebris interrogationibus notum pugnae signum ; permixta vexilla, ut quisque globus capta ex hostibus huc vel illuc raptabat. Urgebatur maxime septima legio, nuper a Galba conscripta. Occisi sex primorum ordinum 5 centuriones, abrepta quaedam signa : ipsam aquilam Atilius Verus, primipili centurio, multa cum hostium strage, et ad 23 extremum moriens, servaverat. Sustinuit labantem aciem Antonius accitis praetorianis. Qui ubi excepero pugnam, pellunt hostem, dein pelluntur. Namque Vitelliani tormenta 2 in aggerem viae contulerant, ut tela vacuo atque aperto excuterentur, dispersa primo et arbustis sine hostium noxa inlisa. Magnitudine eximia quintae decimae legionis ballista ingentibus saxis hostilem aciem proruebat. Lateque cladem 3 intulissent, ni duo milites paeclarum facinus ausi, arreptis e strage scutis ignorati, vincla ac libramenta tormentorum absco-

4 **Eadem . . . arma]** As never happened to Romans, except in civil wars and in that with Hannibal ; cf. Virg. *Georg.* i. 4. 89, *paribus concurrere telis.*

5 **crebris . . . signum]** So Thuc. vii. 44. 5, of another night battle.

5 **primipili centurio]** It appears to have been part of his official duty to take charge of the eagle ; the *aquilifer* only carried it on the march.

CH. XXIII. 1 **labantem]** M. has *labantem*, which some defend, comparing Cic. *Rab. Post.* 16. 43, *Phil.* ii. 21. 51.

6 **praetorianis]** Who were on the extreme right, perhaps clear of the enemy's line, but unable to turn their flank in the darkness and broken ground.

7 **vacuo atque aperto]** Or. calls these ablative absolute ; they are almost as like the local ablatives in 19. 3, 38. 2 ; in fact they have come to be very nearly adverbs. We may translate—‘with an open and uninterrupted range,’ the engines

on the road would command the *limes* (shooting over the vineyards in the angle between) on one side, and the open plain on the other.

8 **quintae decimae]** M. has *quartae dec.*, and though that legion had been sent to Britain (ii. 66. 7), and, moreover, was hostile to Vitellius, it is certainly possible that its engines may have been left behind. But the 15th was actually present, in or about the middle of the Vitellian line, so that there is little doubt of the emendation.

9 **intulissent]** The *tormenta* generally, not the *saxa* from the one *ballista*.

10 **scutis]** Belonging to slain Vitellian soldiers, and having Vitellius' name on them. See on ii. 85. 2.

11 **libramenta]** Not (as sometimes explained) ‘weights’ to keep the machine steady and lessen the recoil, but the ‘springs’ of twisted rope, the tension of which furnished the propelling power. The *vincla* may form a hendiadys with *libr.*, or may mean the rope joining the two free

dissent. Statim confossi sunt, eoque intercidere nomina: de 4  
 facto haud ambigitur. Neutro inclinaverat fortuna, donec  
 adulta nocte luna surgens ostenderet acies falleretque. Sed 5  
 Flavianis aequior a tergo; hinc majores equorum virorumque  
 umbrac, et falso, ut in corpora, ictu tela hostium citra cade-  
 bant: Vitelliani aduerso lumine conluentes, velut ex occulto  
 24 jaculantibus, incauti offerebantur. Igitur Antonius, ubi noscere  
 suos noscique poterat, alios pudore et probris, multos laude  
 et hortatu, omnes spe promissisque accendens, "cur rursum  
 sumpsissent arma," Pannonicas legiones interrogabat: illos  
 esse campos in quibus abolere labem prioris ignominiae, ubi  
 reciperare gloriam possent.' Tum ad Moesicos conversus 2  
 principes auctoresque belli ciebat: 'frustra minis et verbis  
 provocatos Vitellianos, si manus eorum oculosque non tolerant.'  
 Haec, ut quosque accesserat; plura ad tertianos, veterum  
 recentiumque admonens, ut sub M. Antonio Parthos, sub  
 Corbulone Armenios, nuper Sarmatas pepulissent. Mox 3  
 infensius praetorianis, 'Vos,' inquit, 'nisi vincitis, pagani,  
 quis aliis imperator, quae castra alia excipient? Illic signa  
 armaque vestra sunt, et mors victis: nam ignominiam con-  
 sumpsistis.' Undique clamor; et orientem solem (ita in Syria 4

ends of the bars, and acting like the string of a bow.

4 **adulta]** A favourite word of Tacitus' in this sense, which is scarcely found elsewhere; *Ann.* ii. 23. 1; xi. 31. 4; xiii. 36. 1.

**luna]** Dio describes it as looking black or blood-red, which it no doubt did to men excited by the combat; compare Goethe's description of the 'cannon fever' experienced by himself at Valmy.

**falso ictu** is a sort of oxymoron, as *ictus* naturally implies a successful stroke. A very similar description of the same effects from the same cause is quoted from Plut. *Pomp.* 32; see also Thuc. vii. 44. 3.

CH. XXIV. 1 **illos esse campos]**  
 See on 21. 2.

2 **auctores belli]** ii. 85.  
**nuper Sarmatas]** i. 79.

3 **nisi vincitis pagani]** Having been actually disbanded, ii. 67. 1.

**quis alias imp.]** They had lost Otho (apparently by their own fault, see on ii. 44. 2, 4); if they now let Vespasian fall in like manner, no one else could trust or value them. Antonius *may* have said this, or Tac. *may* have been thinking of *Ann.* ix. 782.

**Illic]** Pointing to the enemy's lines; like Napier's—'Your colours are on yonder hill.'

25 mos est,) tertiani salutavere. Vagus inde, an consilio ducis subditus rumor, advenisse Mucianum, exercitus in vicem salutasse. Gradum inferunt quasi recentibus auxiliis aucti, rariore jam Vitellianorum acie, ut quos nullo rectore suus quemque impetus vel pavor contraheret diduceret. Post-<sup>2</sup> quam pulsos sensit Antonius, denso agmine obturbabat. Laxati ordines abrumpuntur; nec restitui quivere inpedientibus vehiculis tormentisque. Per limitem viae sparguntur festinatione consectandi victores. Eo notabilior caedes fuit, 3 quia filius patrem interfecit. Rem nominaque, auctore Vipstano Messalla, tradam. Julius Mansuetus ex Hispania, Rapaci legioni additus, inpubem filium domi liquerat. Is 4 mox adultus, inter septimanos a Galba conscriptus, oblatum forte patrem et volnere stratum dum semianimem scrutatur, agnitus agnoscensque et exsanguem amplexus, voce flebili precabatur piatos patris manes, neve se ut parricidam aversa-

4 **tertiani**] Who had only lately been withdrawn from Syria (ii. 74. 2) where they had served under Corbulo. For the custom, cf. Ezek. viii. 16, Jos. B. J. ii. 8. 5. It seems to have been wide-spread in the East; the Parthians are said to have done the same before a battle.

CH. XXV. 1 **Vagus . . . rumor**] 'A report, either vaguely arising from this cause, or deliberately suggested. . . .' Their comrades saw them turning round and kissing their hands, and thought it was to less remote friends than the sun.

**diduceret**] M. has the simple verb *duceret*, which could hardly mean 'lengthened (and so thinned) the line.' Reading as in the text, the sense will be, that the bravest charged in small compact bodies, like the Persians at Plataea, while the rest edged away in rear of these, or 'accepted the files' of the enemy.

2 **pulsos**] Some conjecture *in-pulsos* or *percussos*: but though the former is more natural, we have

here only an instance of Tacitus' habit of using simple verbs in the sense of compounds.

**denso agmine**] Forming a column to charge along the highway.

**limitem viae**] 'The line of the (Postumian) road,' not the *limes* of 21. 2. Perhaps the word is used because the road was perpendicular to the line along which their front had been extended.

**victores**] Kept to the end of the sentence to heighten the contrast with what is said of the opposite side. The word is, doubtless, nom.

3 **Messalla**] Who commanded the Claudian legion, stationed next to the Galbian, so that in the pursuit he may have passed near enough to see the incident himself.

4 **exsanguem**] 'As his life failed him;' the tender gesture came first, and may have been felt; his words could only be heard by the already departed spirit.

**piatos**] The original reading of M., and less obvious and commonplace than *placatos*.

rentur: publicum id facinus; et unum militem quotam cibium armorum partem? Simul attollere corpus, aperire humum, 5 supremo erga parentem officio fungi. Advertere proximi, deinde plures: hinc per omnem aciem miraculum et questus et saevissimi belli exsecratio. Nec eo segnitus propinquos, adfinis, fratres trucidatos spoliant; factum esse scelus loquuntur faciuntque.

26 Ut Cremonam venere, novum immensumque opus occurrit. Othoniano bello Germanicus miles moenibus Cremonensium castra sua, castris vallum circumjecerat, eaque munimenta rursus auxerat. Quorum aspectu haesere victores, incertis 2 ducibus quid juberent. Incipere obpugnationem, fesso per diem noctemque exercitu, arduum et, nullo juxta subsidio, anceps. Sin Bedriacum redirent, intolerandus tam longi 3 itineris labor, et victoria ad inritum revolvebatur. Munire castra, id quoque, propinquis hostibus, formidolosum, ne dispersos, et opus molientes, subita eruptione turbarent. Quae 4 super cuncta terrebat ipsorum miles periculi quam morae patientior: quippe ingrata quae tuta, ex temeritate spes; omnisque caedes et volnera et sanguis aviditate praedae pensabantur. Huc inclinavit Antonius, cingique vallum corona jussit. Primo sagittis saxisque eminus certabant, majore Flavianorum pernicie, in quos tela desuper librabantur. Mox 2 vallum portasque legionibus attribuit, ut discretus labor fortes ignavosque distingueret, atque ipsa contentione decoris accenderentur. Proxima Bedriacensi viae tertiani septimani-

**publicum id facinus]** 'That the nation was responsible for this dreadful deed,' because a civil war made such things inevitable; if he only shared in the guilt of the war, the burden that fell to his share would not be so great.

**5 fratres]** 51. 1.

**CH. XXVI. 1 Othoniano bello]**  
ii. 22. 5, 26. 4, etc., imply this

position, though it is not so clearly stated as here.

**3 Munire castra, id]** It is needless to suppose an ellipsis or a question; *id quoque, ut castra munirent* would be an ordinary constr. (though perhaps this is hardly the context in which it would be used), and the inf. means just the same. In English it is easy to translate literally.

que sumpsere, dexteriora valli octava ac septima Claudiana; tertiadecumanos ad Brixianam portam impetus tulit. Paulum 3 inde morae, dum ex proximis agris ligones, dolabras, et alii falces scalasque convectant. Tum, elatis super capita scutis, densa testudine succedunt. Römanae utrinque artes: pondera + saxorum Vitelliani provolvunt, disjectam fluitantemque testudinem lanceis contisque scrutantur, donec, soluta compage scutorum, exsangues aut laceros prosternerent multa cum strage. Incesserat cunctatio, ni duces fesso militi et velut 5 28 inritas exhortationes abnuenti Cremonam monstrassent. Hormine id ingenium, ut Messalla tradit, an potior auctor sit G. Plinius, qui Antonium incusat, haud facile discreverim, nisi quod neque Antonius neque Hormus a fama vitaque sua, quamvis pessimo flagitio, degeneravere. Non jam sanguis 2

CH. XXVII. 2 *impetus tulit*] Opp. to *proxima B. viae*; in the zeal of their pursuit they had overshot the city, and came round to it on the north-west side.

3 *ligones, dolabras*] 20. 4. These would be used for loosening, under cover of the *testudo*, the foundations of the walls; the *falces murales* (Caes. *B. G.* iii. 14. 5) seem to have been strong enough for the same purpose (Veg. iv. 14), but were rather applied to detaching the uppermost stones and battlements (Liv. xxxviii. 5. 3); and these were clearly meant to be used for this purpose by the men on the scaling-ladders, as, in fact, common agricultural *falces* would be unfit for the rougher work.

4 *Römanae utrinque artes*] To barbarians a *testudo* might seem invulnerable; the Vitellians knew beforehand what to expect, and how to treat it.

*scrutantur*] 'Probe;' they poked their lances between the shields till they felt the bolts that held them together, and so forced them apart. Till this was done, the men under-

neath might be thrown down by the weight of the stones, and the mass strained and made uneven (*disjectam fluitantemque*), but they were safe against direct wounds.

5 *Incesserat . . . monstrassent*] The same constr. as Hor. *Od.* ii. 17. 27 *sqq.* The *βραχυλογία* in *monstrassent* is not on Tacitus' part, as Or. supposes, but on the generals'; they said only—'Yonder is Cremona,' and the rest was understood. It is implied in 32. 2, 6, that no *express* license for the sack was ever given.

CH. XXVIII. 1 *ingenium*] 'Brilliant thought;' so Plin. *Pan.* 49, *exquisita ingenia cernerum*; where it has, as here, a bitter irony.

G. Plinius] The naturalist, whose historical work is mentioned by his nephew, *Ep.* iii. 5. From respect for him, Tac. does not like to set his authority aside; but Messalla had the better means of knowing what was said at the time, while it is intimated (32. 6) that Antonius got more of the discredit than he deserved.

*degeneravere*] The pl. is regular

neque volnera morabantur, quin subruerent vallum quaterentque portas, innixi humeris et super iteratam testudinem scandentes prensarent hostium tela brachiaque. Integri cum 3 sauciis, semineces cum exspirantibus volvuntur, varia pereun-  
29 tium forma et omni imagine mortium. Acerrum tertiae septimaeque legionum certamen; et dux Antonius cum delectis auxiliaribus eodem incubuerat. Obstinatos inter se 2 cum sustinere Vitelliani nequirent et superjacta tela testudine laberentur, ipsam postremo ballistam in subeuntes propulere, quae ut ad praesens disjecit obruitque quos inciderat, ita pinnas ac summa valli ruina sua traxit. Simul juncta turris 3 ictibus saxorum cessit. Qua septimani dum nituntur cuneis, tertianus securibus gladiisque portam perfregit. Primum inrupisse G. Volusium tertiae legionis militem inter omnes auctores constat. Is in vallum egressus, deturbatis qui 4 restiterant, conspicuus manu ac voce, capta castra conclamavit.

after a double *neque* coupling two distinct subjects, e.g. D. Brutus, ap. Cic. *ad Fam.* xi. 20. 1 *fin.*

3 **volvuntur**] 'Roll on;' the *testudo* is formed a second time, and the wounded and dying from the former one forced along in its advance; it does not appear that it was thrown down a second time till the ballista was thrown on them.

omni imagine mortium] Compare the Virgilian *plurima mortis imago*, *Aen.* ii. 369.

CH. XXIX. 1 tertiae . . . certamen] 'The rivalry between the 3d and (Galba's) 7th,' which were engaged in the same attack, 27. 2, hence *eodem*.

2 **Obstinatos inter se**] Resolute neither to yield to the other.

quos inciderat] A most unusual constr., though two instances are quoted from Appuleius. Perhaps the case is determined by the presence of the two transitive verbs, so that it is virtually an instance of attraction; or Tac. may have taken

the accus. while dropping the prep. from the passage of Virgil which it is evident he had in his head; *Aen.* ii. 463 *sqq.*—

*(Turrim . . .) qua summa labantis  
Juncturas tabulata dabant, convelli-  
mus altis  
Sedibus impulimusque; ea lapsa repente  
ruinam  
Cum sonitu trahit, et Danaum super  
agmina late  
Incidit.*

See also *Aen.* ix. 530-562.

3 **juncta turris**] The foundation of the tower—the place where it fitted on to the earthen rampart.

gladiisque] In spite of 20. 4. Of course the gate of the camp was not as massive as that of the city walls (30. 1). It seems far-fetched to reconcile this passage with that in c. 20, by supposing that the *secures* were employed on the gate, the *gladii* only on the defenders.

4 **conclamavit**] The use of this word for the loud shout of one man, though generally, is not exclusively,

Ceteri, trepidis jam Vitellianis, seque e vallo praecipitantibus, perrupere. Compleetur caede quantum inter castra murosque  
 30 vacui fuit. Ac rursus nova laborum facies, ardua urbis moenia, saxeae turres, ferrati portarum obices, vibrans tela miles, frequens obstrictusque Vitellianis partibus Cremonensis populus, magna pars Italiae statu in eosdem dies mercatu congregata; quod defensoribus auxilium ob multitudinem, obpugnantibus incitamentum ob praedam erat. Rapi ignes 2 Antonius inferrique amoenissimis extra urbem aedificiis jubet, si damno rerum suarum Cremonenses ad mutandam fidem traherentur. Propinqua muris tecta, et altitudinem moenium egressa, fortissimo quoque militum complet; illi trabibus 3 I tegulisque et facibus propugnatores deturbant. Jam legiones in testudinem glomerabantur, et alii tela saxaque incutiebant, cum languescere paulatim Vitellianorum animi. Ut quis 2 ordine anteibat, cedere fortunae, ne, Cremona quoque excisa, nulla ultra venia, omnisque ira victoris non in volgus inops

poetical—not that Tac. would have avoided it if it were. See Plaut. *Mil. G. 2. 2. 23*, *Ubi abit, conclamo 'Heus,'* etc.; Caes. *B. G. i. 47 fin.* (*Ariovistus*) *conclamavit, 'Quid ad se venirent?'* There is therefore no need to refer to the use of the word at funerals, as though Tac. meant, 'His shout showed that all was over.'

**vacui]** Any tents or huts that the soldiers set up would be close to their lines and would not need to be deep, as the circuit must have been immense. Besides, the majority of the Vitellians had only just come up, and had not had time to encamp at all.

**CH. XXX. i nova laborum facies]** Virg. *Aen. vi. 103.*

**2 egressa]** Common though only post-Augustan, in the sense of (figuratively) 'outstepping, going beyond the limits of' (e.g. *Ann.*

iii. 30. 2, *familia . . . praeturam egressa*; xvi. 10. 5, *sexum egressa*). But this is the only instance quoted where, having got a figurative sense from a physical one, the word is turned back into another physical sense.

**CH. XXXI. i tela saxaque]** From engines, as well as the extemporised missiles described just before.

**2 Ut quis]** So M.: *ut quisque* would be more natural Latin, but this is Tacitean, *Ann. ii. 24. 6, 73. 6, 83. 2, iv. 23. 2, 36. 5.* In all but the first of these passages, the word is used with an adj. as predicate—the positive and comparative being about equally frequent, here it might be said that there is a comparative *sense*. The indefinite pronoun *quis* is most frequently used with relative adverbs, and there is no reason why it should not be with *ut*, the most general of them.

sed in tribunos centurionesque, ubi pretium caedis erat, reverteretur. Gregarius miles, futuri socors et ignobilitate 3 tutior, perstabat. Vagi per vias, in domibus abditi, pacem ne tum quidem orabant cum bellum posuissent. Primores castrorum nomen atque imagines Vitellii amoliuntur. Catenas 4 Caecinae (nam etiam tum vinctus erat,) exsolvunt, orantque ut causae suae deprecator adsistat. Aspernantem tumentemque lacrimis fatigant, extremum malorum, tot fortissimi viri proditoris opem invocantes. Mox velamenta et infulas pro 5 muris ostentant. Cum Antonius inhiberi tela jussisset, signa aquilasque extulere: maestum inermium agmen, dejectis in terram oculis, sequebatur. Circumstiterant victores, et primo 6 ingerebant probra, intentabant ictus: mox, ut praebeti ora contumeliis, et, posita omni ferocia, cuncta victi patiebantur, subit recordatio illos esse qui nuper Bedriaci victoriae temperassent. Sed ubi Caecina praetexta lictoribusque insignis, 7 dimota turba, consul incessit, exarsere victores: superbiam saevitiamque, (adeo invisa scelera sunt,) etiam perfidiam objectabant. Obstitit Antonius, datisque defensoribus, ad Vespasianum dimisit.

**ubi pretium caedis]** 'Who were worth killing' by Vespasian and the other leaders, either on political grounds or for confiscation—not 'whom Vespasian would pay the soldiers for killing.' There had actually been such executions after Otho's defeat, ii. 60. 1.

**3 nomen]** See on ii. 85. 2.

**4 etiam tum]** They must have brought him with them in their forced march from Hostilia, 14. 2, 21. 1. *Caecinae* is, of course, dat., so probably is *cansae*, depending rather on *adsistat* than *deprecator*.

**4 tumentemque]** ii. 30. 4.

**6 praebeti . . . patiebantur]**

For the words, cf. 85. 1, Liv. iv. 35 *ad fin.* *praebere ad contumeliam os.* If we are to suppose the constr. to

be complete, we must take *praebeti* to be a historical inf., and then compare *Ann.* xii. 51. 2, for the transition to a finite tense; but perhaps it is likelier that Tac. meant to have written *ut praebeti ora . . . sensere*, and omitted the verb, either from mere inadvertence, or thinking that it could be supplied from *subit*.

**victoriae temperassent]** ii. 45. 1, 3. For the constr. cf. Sall. *Cat.* 11 *fin.*

**7 dimota turba]** His lictors clearing a passage for him; *submota* is the more frequent and more technical word.

**consul]** See on 22. 1.

**adeo invisa scelera sunt]** Refers to *perfidiam*; they reproached him

32 Plebs interim Cremonensium inter armatos conflictabatur ; nec procul caede aberant, cum precibus ducum mitigatus est miles. Et vocatos ad contionem Antonius adloquitur, magnifice victores, victos clementer, de Cremona in neutrum. Exercitus, praeter insitam praedandi cupidinem, vetere odio ad excidium Cremonensium incubuit. Juvisse partes Vitelli- 3 anas Othonis quoque bello credebantur ; mox tertiadecimanos ad exstruendum amphitheatrum relictos, ut sunt procacia urbanae plebis ingenia, petulantibus jurgiis inluserant. Auxit 4 invidiam editum illic a Caecina gladiatorum spectaculum, eademque rursus belli sedes, et praebiti in acie Vitellianis cibi, caesae quaedam feminae studio partium ad praelium progressae. Tempus quoque mercatus ditem alioqui coloniam majorum opum specie complebat. Ceteri duces in obscuro : 5 Antonium fortuna famaque omnium oculis exposuerat. Is balineas abluendo crux propere petit. Excepta vox est, cum teponem incusaret, 'statim futurum ut incalescerent.'

even for the crime they profited by.  
Cf. *Ann.* i. 58. 2, *proditores etiam  
iis quos anteponunt invisi sunt.*

CH. XXXII. 1 caede] A more general massacre than afterwards ensued. Tac. seems to give the impression that the troops were ordered not to kill the inhabitants nor (34. 3) to enslave them, but that they had received tacit license to plunder the town, and that their burning it was winked at. The sack of a city is much the same in all ages ; the peculiar aggravation in this case was, that the place had not been stormed, but the fighting men in it admitted to terms. Dio asserts, indeed, that they took part in the sack. It is only fair to the generals to remember that Roman discipline had been insufficient, even in the best ages, to prevent the sack of Phocaea after a formal capitulation, *Liv.* xxxvii. 32.

3 tertiadecimanos, etc.] ii. 67.

2 ; see ii. 66. 3, 88. 3, for specimens of the *petulantia jurgia*.

4 spectaculum] ii. 67. 3, 70. 1.

5, 6 Excepta vox est . . . vernile dictum] Several commentators, including Or., take the *vox* to be that of the bath-man. *Vernile dictum* cannot mean 'the word of a slave,' but might mean 'the commonplace formula in such cases,' as Or. understands it, and so the text cannot be said to exclude the view that the slave said 'they will be warm soon,' and meant no more than he said ; but that he was thought to mean to taunt Antonius with having already given orders to burn the town. But such a taunt would surely have been too rash to have been uttered, or even imagined, and even if it was uttered it might have proved the general belief in Antonius' guilt, but could not be said to have occasioned it. The sense therefore seems clearly

Vernile dictum omnem invidiam in eum vertit, tamquam 6  
signum incendiae Cremonae dedisset, quae jam flagrabat.

33 Quadraginta armatorum milia intrupere, calonum lixarumque  
amplior numerus, et in libidinem ac saevitiam corruptior.  
Non dignitas, non aetas protegebat, quo minus stupra caedi-  
bus, caedes stupris miscerentur. Grandaevos senes, exacta 2  
aetate feminas, viles ad praedam, in ludibrium trahebant.  
Ubi adulta virgo aut quis forma conspicuus incidisset, vi  
manibusque rapientium divolsus ipsos postremo direptores  
in mutuam perniciem agebat. Dum pecuniam, vel gravia 3  
auro templorum dona, sibi quisque trahunt, majore aliorum vi  
truncabantur. Quidam, obvia aspernati, verberibus tormentis-  
que dominorum abdita scrutari, defossa eruere. Faces in 4  
manibus, quas, ubi praedam egesserant, in vacuas domos et  
inania tempa per lasciviam jaculabantur; utque exercitu  
vario linguis, moribus, cui cives, socii, externi interessent,  
diversae cupidines, et aliud cuique fas, nec quidquam inlicitum.

to be, that Antonius said, 'Why isn't the water hotter? it will be hot enough soon,' not meaning to order the fire, but jesting with the fact that it was to be expected. Such a jest Tac. calls *vernile*—coarse and heartless, but not criminal.

CII. XXXIII. 1 **quadraginta armatorum milia**] There were five legions (roughly speaking 30,000 men) besides the Praetorians and auxiliaries. Their loss in the battle is stated by Josephus at 4500, that of the Vitellians (who had eight legions) at 30,200,—figures which are not incredible, and may be derived from official returns, though he is certainly wrong in implying that the Vitellian loss destroyed their whole army. Dio makes them lose 50,000.

2 **amplior . . . corruptior**] Cf. ii. 87. 2.

2 **direptores**] παρὰ προσδοκιῶν for *raptore*.

3 **truncabantur**] 'Were maimed,'

not *obtr.*, 'beheaded.' One man seized a precious object, another cried halves, and on his refusal to drop it chopped his hands off.

4 **vacuas . . . inania**] The parallelism of the two nearly synonymous words is Virgilian, *Aen.* vi. 269, *Perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna*. Some take the second word there to mean 'unsubstantial,' and so here we might paraphrase, 'the houses whose inhabitants were slain or hidden, and the temples whose gods were powerless,' and the same may be the sense in v. 9. 1, but in Plin. *Pan.* 31 the two appear to be mere synonyms, *navigia inania et vacua*, opp. to *plena et onusta*.

**exercitu vario**] Probably an abl., rather local than absolute.

**aliud cuique fas**] Everything, however sacred, was sure to meet with some one whose national religion did not respect its sanctity. The next words are synonymous

Per quatriduum Cremona suffecit. Cum omnia sacra pro- 5  
 fanaque in igne considerent, solum Mefitis templum stetit  
 34 ante moenia, loco seu numine defensum. Hic exitus Cre-  
 monae, anno ducentesimo octogesimo sexto a primordio sui.  
 Condita erat Ti. Sempronio et Cornelio consulibus. Ingruente  
 in Italiam Hannibale, propugnaculum adversus Gallos trans  
 Padum agentes, et si qua alia vis per Alpes rueret. Igitur 2  
 numero colonorum, opportunitate fluminum, ubere agri,  
 adnexu connubiisque gentium adolevit floruitque, bellis externis  
 intacta, civilibus infelix. Antonius pudore flagitii, crebescente 3  
 invidia, edixit, ne quis Cremonensem captivom detineret.  
 Inritamque praedam militibus effecerat consensus Italiae,  
 emptionem talium mancipiorum aspernantis. Occidi coepere.  
 Quod ubi enotuit, a propinquis ad finibusque occulte redempta-  
 bantur. Mox rediit Cremonam reliquus populus. Reposita 4  
 fora templaque munificentia municipum; et Vespasianus  
 35 hortabatur. Ceterum adsidere sepultae urbis ruinis noxia

with these, not a further statement  
 that there were no orders to impose  
 a check where religion failed.

5 **in igne considerent**] Virg.  
*Aen.* ii. 624; it is quite possible  
 that Tac. also put the acc., *ignem*,  
 as M. is rather careless in the use  
 of the flourish denoting a final *m*,  
 e.g. putting it over *Cremona* in the  
 line before. Stat. *Theb.* iii. 184  
 also has *in cinerem consedit*.

**ante moenia**] Towards the low  
 marshy ground by the river.

**loco seu numine**] A double sар-  
 casm; it was from natural causes,  
 or, if from supernatural, it was an  
 exception that proved the rule, that  
 the goddess of fetor was the only  
 deity who had power those four days.

Ch. XXXIV. 1 **Condita**] See  
*Liv.* xxi. 5.

2 **ubere**] Scarcely elsewhere in  
 this sense in prose, but thoroughly  
 Virgilian, e.g. *Aen.* vii. 262, *divitis*  
*uber agri*.

**bellis externis**] Which it was  
 meant to meet.

**civilibus**] Coupling the present  
 disaster with that in the days of  
 the triumvirs, so well known from  
 Virgil.

3 **invidia**] So 60. 4.

4 **municipum**] *Qui, agros possi-  
 dentes, non omnia tum amiserant*,  
 Duebn. ap. Or.

**hortabatur**] Sarcastic; he was  
 liberal of his words, and hoped  
 other people would be of their  
 money.

Ch. XXXV. 1 **Ceterum** marks  
 the return to the order of time—  
 from the city's restoration to the  
 morrow of its destruction.

**sepultae urbis**] Almost a per-  
 sonification; Duebn. ap. Or. com-  
 pares *cadavera oppidorum*, Sulp.  
 ap. Cic. *ad Fam.* iv. 5. 4 (perhaps  
 from a poet).

**noxia tabo humus**] The site was  
 not healthy, naturally, outside the

tabo humus haud diu permisit. Ad tertium lapidem progressi vagos paventesque Vitellianos, sua quemque apud signa, componunt. Et victae legiones ne, manente adhuc civili bello, ambiguac agerent, per Illyricum dispersae. In Britan- 2 niam inde et Hispanias nuntios famamque, in Galliam Julium Calenum tribunum, in Germaniam Alpinium Montanum, praefectum cohortis, quod hic Trevir, Calenus Aeduus, uterque Vitelliani fuerant, ostentui misere. Simul transitus Alpium 3 praesidiis occupati, suspecta Germania, tamquam in auxilium Vitellii accingeretur.

36 At Vitellius, profecto Caecina, cum Fabium Valentem paucis post diebus ad bellum in pulisset, curis luxum obtendebat. Non parare arma, non adloquio exercitioque militem firmare, non in ore volgi agere; sed umbraculis hortorum abditus (ut ignava animalia, quibus si cibum suggestas, jacent torpentque,) praeterita, instantia, futura, pari obliuione dimiserat. Atque illum in nemore Aricino desidem et 2 marcentem proditio Lucilii Bassi, ac defectio classis Raven- natis perculit. Nec multo post de Caecina adfertur mixtus 3 gaudio dolor, et descivisse et ab exercitu vinctum. Plus 4 apud socordem animum laetitia quam cura valuit. Multa cum exsultatione in urbem revectus, frequenti contione,

walls, 33. 5; and it was now worse within them.

*ambiguæ agerent*] So *Agr.* 5. 2, *et anxius et intutus agere.*

2 *Montanum*] He joined the revolt of Civilis soon after his arrival, iv. 31 *sq.*, v. 19. 5.

*Trevir*] And so a near neighbour to Germany. Each was sent to his own home; *ostentui* refers to *quod . . . uterque V. fuerant*—their presence was a practical proof of the defeat.

CH. XXXVI. 1 *curis luxum obtendebat*] We should express the same sense by a slightly different metaphor, 'hid his face in luxury

from looking on his anxieties.'

*in ore volgi*] So *in ore ejus*, 'in his presence,' 77. 4. This identical phrase occurs in *Cic. Verr.* iii. 46. 121; so *ibid.* ii. 33. 81, *in ore atque in oculis provinciae*, etc.

*umbraculis hortorum*] Vitellius had been diligent in the routine of public business through August and part of September; he stayed in Rome till he had sent off Caecina: then he took his *Villeggiatura*, almost a necessity of life: he came back as soon as he heard of Caecina's treason; but the battle of Cremona had intervened and given a monstrous look to his holiday.

pietatem militum laudibus cumulat. Publum Sabinum, praetorii praefectum, ob amicitiam Caecinae vinciri jubet, substituto in locum ejus Alfenio Varo. Mox senatum composita in magnificentiam oratione adlocutus, exquisitis patrum adulatio-  
 37 nibus attollitur. Initium atrocis in Caecinam sententiae a L. Vitellio factum; dein ceteri, composita indignatione, quod consul rempublicam, dux imperatorem, tantis opibus, tot honoribus cumulatus amicum prodidisset, velut pro Vitellio conquerentes, suum dolorem proferebant. Nulla in oratione 2 cujusquam erga Flavianos duces obtrectatio: errorem imprudentiamque exercituum culpantes, Vespasiani nomen suspensi et vitabundi circumibant. Nec defuit qui unum consulatus diem (is enim in locum Caecinae supererat,) magno cum inrisu tribuentis accipientisque eblandiretur. Pridie Kalendas 3 Novembres Rosius Regulus iniit ejuravitque. Adnotabant periti, nunquam antea, non abrogato magistratu, neque lege lata, alium subiectum. Nam consul uno die et ante fuerat Caninius Rebilus, G. Caesare dictatore, cum belli civilis praemia festinarentur.

4 pietatem militum] See on i.  
 83. 3.

P. Sabinum] ii. 92. 1.

CH. XXXVII. 1 composita indignatione] Note that Tac. has no prejudice against the repetition of a word that has already appeared in the sentence, even when, as here, it is not used in quite the same sense. The second *composita* means, like the usage noted at i. 71. 1, not that their indignation was insincere (for Caecina was really unpopular), but that its form of expression was studied, and even affected. The first *composita* may be compared with ii. 9. 2.

dux imp.] 'A general his commander-in-chief;' the same antithesis is found in Caes. *B. G.* iii. 21. 1, *absente imperatore, adulescentulo duce*; Cic. *Off.* iii. 26. 99, *duce*

*Xanthippo Lacedaemonio, imperatore autem patre Hannibalis Hamilcare.*

3 non abr. . . . lata] We must suppose therefore that one or other of these formalities, probably the first, was observed in the substitution of L. Cornelius Merula for his *gentilis* Cinna in b.c. 87. Virtually, that case was parallel to this,—a deposition of the Consul in his absence, by decree of the Senate, for an overt act of what was regarded as treason.

Nam] This was really unprecedented, the shortness of the term was not; *for*, etc. The vacancy filled by Caninius (A.U.C. 708, b.c. 46), was a *bona fide* one, caused by death; perhaps his appointment was not a mere compliment to him, but a piece of official pedantry, to make the formal

38 Nota per eos dies Junii Blaesi mors et famosa fuit; de qua sic accepimus. Gravi corporis morbo aeger Vitellius, Servili-anis hortis, turrim vicino sitam conlucere per noctem crebris luminibus animadvertis. Sciscitanti causam, apud Caecinam Tuscum epulari multos, praecipuum honore Junium Blaesum nuntiatur. Cetera in majus, de apparatu et solutis in 3 lasciviam animis. Nec defuere qui ipsum Tuscum et alios, sed criminiosius Blaesum, incusarent, quod, aegro principe, laetos dies ageret. Ubi asperatum Vitellium, et posse Blaesum + perverti, satis patuit iis qui principum offensas acriter speculantur, datae L. Vitellio delationis partes. Ille, infensus Blaeso aemulatione prava, quod eum, omni dedecore maculosum, egregia fama anteibat, cubiculum imperatoris reserat, filium ejus sinu complexus et genibus accidens. Causam 5 confusionis quaerenti, non se proprio metu nec sui anxiu, sed pro fratre, pro liberis fratris preces lacrimasque attulisse. Frustra Vespasianum timeri, quem tot Germanicae legiones, tot provinciae virtute ac fide, tantum denique terrarum ac maris inmensis spatiis arceat. In urbe ac sinu cavendum 6 hostem, Junios Antoniosque avos jactantem, qui se stirpe

business of the day more regular. See Cic. *ad Fam.* vii. 30. 1, who, however, jokes at the temperance of the people, the vigilance of the Consul, and the prosperity of the State under him. No one ate more than one meal in his consulship, and he himself never slept,—for he was elected in the afternoon, and kept up his inaugural dinner till next morning.

CH. XXXVIII. 1 *Junii Blaesi*] See i. 59. 4 and the note there, ii. 59. 3.

2 *Servilianis hortis*] *Ann.* xv. 55. 1.

Caecinam Tuscum] *Ann.* xiii. 20. 2.

4 *reserat*] 'Bursts open the doors of,' with a show of passion.

*filium*] Probably the child Germanicus, though his elder son Petronianus may still have been alive. But *filium habere* at the end of the c. is against his having two.

6 *Junios Antoniosque*] The allusion can hardly be to Brutus and Antonius as enemies of Augustus; no one could pretend to think the latter a champion of liberty, and Vitellius was not even titularly a Caesar. But both houses had inter-married with the imperial one, Antonius had been in a manner a colleague of the Emperor, and on the extinction of the Caesarian house, his descendants might seem its nearest representatives. We have not, however, materials for a complete pedigree of Blaesus, so

imperatoria, comem ac magnificum militibus ostentet. Versas illuc omnium mentes, dum Vitellius, amicorum inimicorumque neglegens, fovet aemulum principis labores e convivio prospectantem. Reddendam pro intempestiva lactitia maestam 7 et funebrem noctem, qua sciat et sentiat vivere Vitellium et 39 imperare, et, si quid fato accidat, filium habere. Trepidanti inter scelus metumque, ne dilata Blaesi mors maturam perniciem, palam jussa atrocem invidiam ferret, placuit veneno grassari. Addidit facinori fidem nobili gaudio, Blaesum 2 visendo. Quin et audita est saevissima Vitellii vox, qua se (ipsa enim verba referam,) pavisse oculos spectata inimici morte jactavit. Blaeso, super claritatem natalium et elegan- 3

that we cannot say whether his connection was with the Junii Bruti or the Junii Silani; for the dread felt for the latter, see *Ann. xiii. 1.*

2, xv. 35. 1.

**stirpe imperatoria]** Perhaps the allusion is rather to his father (?) having been the last non-imperial *imperator* (*Ann. iii. 74. 617*), than to the descent from Antonius above mentioned. But at any rate he is charged as a pretenderto sovereignty, not as a republican.

**amicorum inimicorumque neglegens]** Headless who were his friends or enemies.

6, 7 *labores]* 'Sufferings,' something of a euphemism for a dangerous illness. *Si quid fato accidat* seems to have been considered a euphemism also; Nero is made to use a still plainer phrase in *Ann. xiv. 47. 1*, *si quid fato pateretur*, speaking, as here, of a possible successor.

**Ch. XXXIX. 1 inter scelus metumque]** 'Between (horror at) the crime, and fear (of Blaesus).' Lucius was capable of planning a wilful murder, Aulus was not, though unfeeling at a death supposed to serve his interest.

**ne dilata]** This, with the *maestam*

*et funebrem noctem* of the last c., seems to imply that Blaesus was to be poisoned that very night, and if so, it is hard to see how Vitellius, himself seriously if not dangerously ill, managed to visit him. If Lipsius is right in identifying this story with one in Suetonius (*Vit. 14*) of a man whom Vitellius poisoned with his own hands, the difficulty is increased, and that story, if admitted in full, only comes to this—that a man with a fever asked for cold water, that Vitellius gave it him, and the man died. Tac. appears to believe that Blaesus was really poisoned, and we cannot judge whether the evidence justified the belief, but the *sic accepimus* of 38. 1 is meant to guard against his being held responsible for all the details.

**2 Addidit factori fidem]** The proof that he killed him was, that he went to see him when dying, and seemed to take a brutal pleasure in the sight.

**nobili]** In the etymological sense, 'easy to discern.'

**ipsa enim verba referam]** They seem then to have been less proverbial in Latin than in English, but are used by Cic. *Verr. ii. 5. 26. 65*.

tiam morum, fidei obstinatio fuit. Integris quoque rebus, a Caecina et primoribus partium, jam Vitellium aspernantibus, ambitus, abnuere perseveravit. Sanctus, inturbidus, nullius 4 repentinae honoris, adeo non principatus appetens, parum effugerat ne dignus crederetur.

40 Fabius interim Valens, multo ac molli concubinarum spadonumque agmine segnus quam ad bellum incedens, proditam a Lucilio Basso Ravennatem classem perniciibus nuntiis accepit. Et si coeptum iter properasset, nutantem Caecinam praevenire 2 aut ante discrimen pugnae adsequi legiones potuisset. Nec 3 deerant qui monerent, ut cum fidissimis per occultos tramites, vitata Ravenna, Hostiliam Cremonamve pergeret. Aliis placebat, accitis ex urbe praetoriis cohortibus, valida manu perrumpere. Ipse, inutili cunctatione, agendi tempora consultando consumpsit: mox utrumque consilium aspernatus, (quod inter ancipitia deterrium est,) dum media sequitur, nec ausus est satis nec providit.

41 Missis ad Vitellium litteris auxilium postulat. Venere tres cohortes cum ala Britannica, neque ad fallendum aptus numerus neque ad penetrandum. Sed Valens ne in tanto quidem 2 discrimine infamia caruit, quo minus rapere inlicitas voluptates,

3 fidel obstinatio] He had been one of the earliest partisans of Vitellius, i. 59. 4.

Integris quoque rebus] Perhaps rather before he himself was discredited with Vitellius, than before Vitellius' cause was ruined at Cremona.

4 parum effugerat] 'He had failed to escape; . . .' *Parum* always means *too* little, and generally is a mere *μείωσις* for a negative.

Ch. XL. 1 proditam . . . classem] ii. 100. 4, 101. 3; iii. 12.

2 nutantem C. praevenire] Comparing cc. 13, 14 with 21. 1, it seems that his avowed change of sides was only two days before the battle;

from 18. 2, 22. 1, it appears that Antonius was right in thinking (15. 1, 2) that the presence of a competent and loyal commander would have prevented the defeat.

3 Hostiliam Cremonamve] His advisers knew that the army was stationed part at each of these towns (ii. 100. 3); Tac. knows that it was a nice question whether the main body would have been found at one or the other.

4 inter ancipitia] Doubtless, in the primary sense, 'between nicely balanced alternatives,' though it of course might be 'in the midst of danger.'

Ch. XLI. 1 numerus] Probably from 2000 to 3000.

adulteriisque ac stupris polluere hospitum domus crederetur. Aderant vis et pecunia et ruentis fortunae novissima libido. Adventu demum peditum equitumque pravitas consilii patuit, 3 quia nec vadere per hostes tam parva manu poterat, etiam si fidissima foret, nec integrum fidem attulerant. Pudor tamen et praesentis ducis reverentia morabatur, haud diurna vincla apud avidos periculorum et dedecoris securos. Eo metu et 4 paucis, quos adversa non mutaverant, comitantibus, cohortes Ariminum praemittit, alam tueri terga jubet: ipse flexit in Umbriam atque inde Etruriam, ubi, cognito pugnae Cremonensis eventu, non ignavum, et, si provenisset, atrox consilium inuit, ut, arreptis navibus, in quamcunque partem Narbonensis provinciae egressus, Gallias et exercitus et Germaniae gentes novumque bellum cieret.

42 Digresso Valente, trepidos qui Ariminum tenebant Cor-

2 Aderant . . . libido] Tac. makes the charges less confidently than in i. 66. 6, but intimates that there was everything to make them credible. The last temptation is that which Otho claims credit for resisting, ii. 47. 2.

3 avidos periculorum] Like the Flavians, 26. 2. They would have been glad to fight then and there if an enemy had been present, but, being 'past minding disgrace,' they could not be trusted for a fatiguing march.

4 cohortes . . . jubet: ipse flexit] Notice that the abl. abs., *paucis . . . comitantibus*, though put before the first clause, belong in sense to the second, for of course it is meant that the *pauci* accompanied Valens, not the *cohortes*. It is unnecessary either to transpose the clause, or to interpret *paucis quos . . . comitantibus* = *cum pauci comitantium essent quos*, etc. In Greek the two principal clauses would be marked by *μὲν* and *δὲ*, and in that language it is familiar for a dependent clause to refer to the second only.

in Umbriam] Not, as some commentators approved by Or. understand it, still following the middle course, but the one which would have been wisest if adopted in time; only he now (42. 2) had to go farther west to be safe. The next clause implies that his latent energy and ability were at last aroused.

provenisset] The subject is no doubt *consilium*, though in Plautus the word is occasionally used of persons, 'to prosper (well or ill).'

exercitus et Germaniae gentes] Being ignorant that they were already at war with each other. It was, however, quite possible that the troops, still attached to Vitellius (iv. 27. 4, 31. 4), would have been able to secure native allies if they had had a competent and trusted leader, and could have shown them another enemy worth plundering.

CH. XLII. 1 trepidos] 'Hesitating: ' *nec integrum fidem attulerant*, 41. 3.

Circumvenit implies their capitulation.

nelius Fuscus, admoto exercitu et missis per proxima litorum Liburnicis, terra marique circumvenit. Occupantur plana 2 Umbriae et qua Picenus ager Hadria alluitur. Omnisque Italia inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium Apennini jugis dividebatur. Fabius Valens e sinu Pisano, segnitia maris aut ad 3 versante vento, portum Herculis Monoeci depellitur. Haud procul inde agebat Marius Maturus, Alpium maritimarum procurator, fidus Vitellio, cuius sacramentum cunctis circa hostilibus nondum exuerat. Is Valentem comiter exceptum, 4 ne Galliam Narbonensem temere ingrederetur, monendo terruit; simul ceterorum fides metu infracta. Namque circumjectas civitates procurator Valerius Paulinus, strenuus militiae, et Vespasiano ante fortunam amicus, in verba ejus adegerat: 43 concitisque omnibus qui exauctorati a Vitellio bellum sponte sumebant, Forojuliensem coloniam, claustra maris, praesidio tuebatur, eo gravior auctor, quod Paulino patria Forum Iuli, et honos apud praetorianos, quorum quondam tribunus fuerat. Ipsique pagani, favore municipalis et futurae potentiae spe, juvare partes adnitezantur. Quae ubi paratu firma et aucta 2 rumore apud varios Vitellianorum animos increbuerunt, Fabius Valens, cum quattuor speculatoribus et tribus amicis, totidem

**Fuscus]** The new commander of the fleet at Ravenna, 12. 4.

**2 segnitia maris]** So *segnities ventorum*, Colum. ii. 20. 5; there were either calms or contrary winds (the autumnal north-wester, now called the *Mistral* in the district he was making for) which prevented his reaching Gaul; he had to put in at the westernmost port of Liguria.

**depellitur** presupposes *vectus*, on which *e sinu Pisano* really depends.

**Maturus]** ii. 12. 5. He knew that the troops he himself could raise were worthless.

**4 temere]** 'At a venture:' he

did not perhaps deny that he might do so in some circumstances.

**ante fortunam]** Before his proclamation, as well as before his victory: perhaps indeed when he was in the difficulties mentioned, 65. 2.

**procurator]** Doubtless of Narbonese Gaul.

**civitates]** Massilia and its colonies or dependencies—cities with a history and nationality of their own, not Roman *municipia* or *coloniae*.

**CII. XLIII. 1 municipali]** We should say 'to their fellow-towns-men:' the Latin thought is 'borne to him by his fellow-towns-men.'

**futurae potentiae]** That Paulinus

centurionibus, ad naves regreditur; Maturo ceterisque remanere et in verba Vespasiani adigi volentibus fuit. Ceterum ut mare 3 tutius Valenti quam litora aut urbes, ita futuri ambiguus, et magis quid vitaret quam cui fideret certus, adversa tempestate Stoechadas, Massiliensium insulas, affertur. Ibi eum missae a Paulino Liburnicae oppressere.

44 Capto Valente cuncta ad victoris opes conversa, initio per Hispaniam a prima Adjutrice legione orto, quae, memoria Othonis infensa Vitellio, decimam quoque ac sextam traxit. Nec Galliae cunctabantur. Et Britanniam † inditus (*insitus?*) 2 erga Vespasianum favor, quod illic secundae legioni a Claudio praepositus et bello clarus egerat, non sine motu adjunxit ceterarum, in quibus plerique centuriones ac milites a Vitellio 45 proiecti expertum jam principem anxii mutabant. Ea discordia, et crebris belli civilis rumoribus, Britanni sustulere animos, auctore Venutio, qui, super insitam ferociam et Romani nominis odium, propriis in Cartismanduam reginam stimulis accendebatur. Cartismandua Brigantibus imperitabat, 2

would be *potens* at Rome: the word is hardly applicable to a community.

2 *volentibus fuit*] This Grecism is found in *Ann. i. 59. 1, ut quibusque invitis aut cupientibus fuit*; also in Sallust.

3 *oppressere* implies both 'surprised' and 'overpowered,'—apparently without any serious fighting.

CH. XLIV. 1 *per Hisp. . . . legione*] ii. 67. 2, 86. 7.

2 *inditus*] So M., and in iv. 34. 7 we have *indo* of *implanting* a temper of mind. That passage would quite justify the constr. *Vespasianus, illic sec. leg. praepositus, favorem erga se indiderat*: if that is right, it could hardly be wrong to say *id erga V. favorem inaiderat, quod illic*, etc.: and this is merely that sentence thrown into a passive form. Orelli's suggestion *insitus* is therefore needless.

*motu*] Actual 'disturbance,' not merely 'excitement.'

*ceterarum*] The 9th and 20th, 22. 2; the 14th was anti-Vitellian, ii. 86. 7, but its officers may have been appointed by Vitellius in place of those put to death or dismissed.

*expertum*] In the passive sense, oftener applied to a quality than a person.

CH. XLV. 1 *Venutio*] So M. at *Ann. xii. 40. 3*, where the story is told in less detail; here the name is twice spelt *Venusius*. Perhaps it is likelier that the transcriber assimilated, than that Tacitus' own spelling varied. M. here writes *Cartismandua* twice, *Cartism.* once.

*Romani nominis odium*] Yet he had long been friendly, *Ann. i.c.*

2 *imperitabat*] She clearly was queen in her own right: Venutius is only made king by the revolt of the people.

pollens nobilitate ; et auxerat potentiam, postquam, capto per dolum rege Caractaco, instruxisse triumphum Claudi Caesaris videbatur. Inde opes et rerum secundarum luxus. Spreto 3 Venutio (is fuit maritus,) armigerum ejus Vellocatum in matrimonium regnumque accepit. Concussa statim flagitio domus. Pro marito studia civitatis, pro adultero libido reginae et saevitia. Igitur Venutius, accitis auxiliis, simul ipsorum Brigantum defectione, in extremum discrimen Cartismanduam adduxit. Tum petita a Romanis praesidia. Et cohortes 4 alaeque nostrae, variis praeliis, exemere tamen periculo reginam.

46 Regnum Venutio, bellum nobis relictum. Turbata per eosdem dies Germania et socordia ducum *et* seditione legionum. Externa vi, perfidia sociali, prope adficta Romana res. Id bellum cum causis et eventibus (etenim longius provectum est,) mox memorabimus. Mota et Dacorum gens, nunquam fida, tunc sine metu, abducto e Moesia exercitu. Sed prima rerum quieti speculabantur : ubi flagrare Italiam bello, cuncta in vicem hostilia accepere, expugnatis cohortium alarumque hibernis utraque Danubii ripa potiebantur. Jamque castra 3 legionum exscindere parabant, ni Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset, Cremonensis victoriae gnarus, ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret, si Dacus Germanusque diversi inrupissent. Adfuit, ut saepe alias, fortuna populi Romani, quae Mucianum 4

**capto . . . Caractaco]** *Ann.*  
36. 1.

**triumphum]** Cladius' actual triumph, in A.D. 44, and the formal presentation of the captured chief to him, six years later, are either confounded in Tacitus' mind, or at all events blended in his mode of expression.

**3 saevitia]** Perhaps his as well as hers, else the gen. would more naturally have come either before or after the two nominatives.

**auxiliis]** From neighbouring tribes. Does the word imply that

he had disciplined his own forces into an imitation of legionaries ?

**defectione]** At once from Cartismandua and from Rome.

**4 tamen]** 'At all events,' as Virg. *Aen.* iv. 329, *qui te tamen ore referret.*

**CH. XLVI. 1 mox]** iv. 12-37, 54-79, v. 14-*fin.*

**2 Dacorum]** i. 2. 3; for the army of Moesia, see ii. 85. 1.

**3 sextam]** ii. 83. 2. This was the *Sexta Ferrata*, distinct from the *Sexta Victrix*, now (44. 1) in Spain.

viresque Orientis illuc tulit; et quod Cremonae interim trans-  
egimus. Fonteius Agrippa ex Asia (pro consule eam pro- 5  
vinciam annuo imperio tenuerat,) Moesiae praepositus est,  
additis copiis e Vitelliano exercitu, quem spargi per provincias

47 et externo bello inligari pars consilii pacisque erat. Nec ceterae  
nationes silebant. Subita per Pontum arma barbarum man-  
cipium, regiae quondam classis praefectus, moverat. Is fuit  
Anicetus, Polemonis libertus, praepotens olim, et, postquam  
regnum in formam provinciae verterat, mutationis inpatiens.  
Igitur Vitellii nomine adscitis gentibus quae Pontum adcolunt, 2  
corrupto in spem rapinarum egentissimo quoque, haud tem-  
nendae manus ductor, Trapezuntem vetusta fama civitatem, a  
Graecis in extremo Ponticae orae conditam, subitus inrupit.  
Caesa ibi cohors, regium auxilium olim; mox donati civitate 3  
Romana signa armaque in nostrum modum, desidiam licenti-  
amque Graecorum retinebant. Classi quoque faces intulit,

4 et quod . . . transegimus] Virtually co-ordinate with *quae . . . tulit*: the fortune of Rome appeared in two things, that the army was there, and that it was not wanted elsewhere. Or. takes *transegimus* absolutely as *i.q. rem confecimus*, comparing ii. 38. 6, iii. 5. 6, where however it is *not* used absolutely. If he be right, as is most likely, we must understand, 'We, the Roman people, had settled our dynastic problem,' not 'We, the Flavian party, had decided the campaign in our favour,' for Tac. does not identify himself with that party, though his father-in-law had (*Agr.* 7. 2). But with this translation we should have expected the *plu.-pf.*, though the aorist would doubtless have been used in Greek: and it would be possible to translate *quod . . . transegimus*, 'and the intervening event at Cremona which we (the author) have disposed of [as a painful subject].'

CH. XLVII. 1 *regiae*] Of Polemo mentioned in the next line, the last

king of Pontus, who ceded his kingdom to Rome, A.D. 63. He had turned Jew to get Berenice to marry him: when she deserted him, he not unnaturally recanted.

2 *Trapezuntem*] See Xen. *Anab.* iv. S. 22, etc.

*Ponticae orae*] Of the kingdom of Pontus—it was not absolutely the easternmost Greek colony in the Euxine. But Trapezus was a much more considerable place than Diodurias, and Tac. may have forgotten the existence of the latter.

3 *regium auxilium*] A part of the *auxilia* furnished by the king to Rome. The Greek troops would, however, stand in the relation of *auxilia* to the native Pontic army—if there was one—as the kingdom was not Greek. The old royal family of the Mithridatae was Persian; but Polemo was remotely if at all connected with it.

*Classi . . . intulit*] 'He set fire to the fleet also,' which, no doubt, as well as the land troops, had be-

vacuo mari eludens, quia lectissimas Liburnicarum omnemque militem Mucianus Byzantium adegerat. Quin et barbari <sup>4</sup> contemptim vagabantur, fabricatis repente navibus. Camaras vocant, artis lateribus, latam alvom sine vinculo aeris aut ferri connexas; et tumido mari, prout fluctus attollitur, summa navium tabulis augent, donec in modum tecti claudantur. Sic <sup>5</sup> inter undas volvuntur, pari utrimque prora et mutabili remigio, quando hinc vel illinc appellere indiscretum et innoxium est.

<sup>48</sup> Advertit ea res Vespasiani animum, ut vexillarios e legionibus ducemque Virdium Geminum, spectatae militiae, deligeret. Ille inconpositum et praedae cupidine vagum hostem adortus <sup>2</sup> coegerit in naves; effectisque raptim Liburnicis, adsequitur Anicetum in ostio fluminis Cohibi, tutum sub Sedochezorum regis auxilio, quem pecunia donisque ad societatem perpulerat. Ac primo rex minis armisque supplicem tueri: post- <sup>3</sup> quam merces proditionis aut bellum ostendebatur, fluxa, ut est

longed to the king. M. has *classis*: if this be right, *faces intulit* must be metaphorical, like ii. 86. 6, *acerrimam bello faciem praetulit*. This is no doubt harsh, but not so absurd as Or. thinks it: there had been a native fleet worthy of the name, and why should Anicetus destroy instead of seizing it, as he was competent to command it?

<sup>4</sup> **barbari**] Amicetus himself was no doubt practically a Greek, and, whatever he did with the fleet, the ships with which he sailed to the Cohibus were doubtless on the Greek model, and not newly built.

**camaras**] A Greek, not native, name, as Strabo observes in his notice of them. Hence the meaning is plain, 'arched vaults.'

**sine . . . ferri**] So as to be more flexible in the rough water of a harbourless coast. The 'Madras surf-boats' are constructed on the same principle. M. reads *latam alvom . . . conexam*; but it is less

likely that Tac. made a sudden transition from plu. to sing. than that the transcriber thought the part. ought to agree with the subst. With the reading of the text, the constr. of course will be that familiar in poetry, 'having their wide hull fastened,'—a middle, like *scissa comam, chlamydem circumdata*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> **pari . . . indiscretum**] Also a common feature in the vessels of extant barbarian tribes. The object is to prevent loss by lee-way in turning—it therefore is especially useful in a stormy and landlocked sea; cf. *Ann.* ii. 6. 2.

**CH. XLVIII. 1 Advertit . . . animum**] 'Drew Vespasian's attention'—a rare use of the word, but illustrated by the use of *animum advertere* with a personal subject. Still more similar is the use of *advertere* with a personal *object*, *Ann.* ii. 17. 2, *imperatorem advertere*; *Liv.* i. 12, *adverteratque ea res etiam Sabinos*.

barbaris, fide, pactus Aniceti exitium, perfugas tradidit, bello-  
que servili finis inpositus.

Laetum ea victoria Vespasianum, cunctis super vota fluenti- 4  
bus, Cremonensis praelii nuntius in Aegypto assequitur. Eo  
properantius Alexandriam pergit, ut, fracto Vitellii exercitu,  
urbem quoque externae opis indigam fame urgeret. Namque 5  
et Africam, eodem latere sitam, terra marique invadere  
parabat, clausis annonae subsidiis, inopiam ac discordiam  
49 hosti facturus. Dum hac totius orbis nutatione fortuna imperii  
transit, Primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentia post  
Cremonam agebat, satisfactum bello ratus et cetera ex facili,  
seu felicitas in tali ingenio avaritiam, superbiam, ceteraque  
occulta mala patefecit. Ut captam, Italiam persultare ; ut 2  
suas, legiones colere ; omnibus dictis factisque viam sibi ad  
potentiam struere. Utque licentia militem inbueret, inter-  
fectorum centurionum ordines legionibus offerebat. Eo suffra- 3  
gio turbidissimus quisque delecti ; nec miles in arbitrio ducum,  
sed duces militari violentia trahebantur. Quae seditiosa, et  
corrumpendae disciplinae, mox in praedam vertebat, nihil

3 *pactus A. exitium*] 'Stipulat-  
ing that Anicetus' (whatever was  
done with the rest) 'should be put  
to death.' From the point of view  
of oriental diplomacy, there was a  
risk that Anicetus might be re-  
served in case of a reverse of  
fortune, and then find opportunity  
for revenge upon his treacherous  
host. *Pacisci* is not very often  
transitive : when it is, it seems  
always to mean 'to stipulate for,'  
not 'to covenant to perform.'

4 *fluentibus*] So *Dial d: Orr. 5.*  
4, *rebus prospere fluentibus*, *Cic. de*  
*Off. i. 26. 90.*

*urbem quoque . . . urgeret]*  
Passing the limits of allowable party  
strife.

5 *Namque et*] For from Egypt he  
not only held one of the granaries of  
the capital, but commanded the other.

CH. XLIX. 1 *transit*] Virtually  
the passive of the *transtulerunt* of  
i. 25. 2.

*nutatione*] For this (undoubtedly  
the true reading for *mut.*), cf. *Plin. Pan. 5. nutatio reip.*

*Nequaquam pari innocentia*] Compare i. 5. 4, where *inbueretur* im-  
plies that there had been no plunder-  
ing before. Moreover Antonius' mer-  
its as a general have been dwelt on,  
and may be supposed to include  
that of keeping his men well in hand.

*ex facili*] 'On an easy footing,'  
common in Greek.

*3 trahebantur*] Had their move-  
ments determined. The word im-  
plies irregularity and violence.

*seditiosa, et corrumpendae dis-  
ciplinae*] Compare i. 8. 2 for the  
coupling of an adjective and adjec-  
tival clause.

adventantem Mucianum veritus; quod exitiosius erat quam 50 Vespasianum sprevisse. Ceterum propinqua hieme, et humentibus Pado campis, expeditum agmen incedere. Signa aquilaque victricium legionum, milites volneribus aut aetate graves, plerique etiam integri, Veronae relicti: sufficere cohortes alaeque et e legionibus lecti, profligato jam bello, videbantur. Undecima legio sese adjunxerat, initio cunctata, 2 sed prosperis rebus anxia quod desuisset. Sex milia Dalmatarum, recens delectus, comitabantur. Ducebat Pompeius Silvanus consularis: vis consiliorum penes Annium Bassum legionis legatum. Is Silvanum socordem bello, et dies rerum 3 verbis terentem, specie obsequii regebat, *ad* oninique quae agenda forent quieta cum industria aderat. Ad has copias e classicis Ravennatibus, legionariam militiam poscentibus, optimus quisque adsciti: classem Dalmatae supplevere. Exercitus ducesque ad Fanum Fortunae iter sistunt, de summa 4 rerum cunctantes, quod motas ex urbe praetorias cohortes audierant, et teneri praesidiis Apenninum rebantur. Et ipsos, 5 in regione bello attrita, inopia et seditione militum voces terrebant, clavarium (donativi nomen est,) flagitantium. Nec pecuniam aut frumentum providerant; et festinatio atque aviditas praepediebant, dum quae accipi poterant rapiuntur.

*exitiosius*] iv. 11. 1.

*sprevisse*] Tac. does not determine whether he means 'than it would have been to show contempt,' or 'than it was to have shown contempt;' the *seditione* might be regarded in that light.

CH. I. 1 *Signa aquilaque*] Perhaps implying a definite body of men, i. 61. 2.

*profligato jam bello*] As ii. 4. 5.

2 *Undecima legio*] It had been sent back (ii. 67. 2) to its winter quarters (in Dalmatia).

*Silvanus*] ii. 86. 4.

3 *Dalmatae*] Then, as now, excellent sailors.

4 *Fanum Fortunae*] Often called

*Fanum* simply, and now *Fano*.

*motas . . . cohortes*] 55. 1.

5 *ipsos*] Of course *duces*; the placing *exercitus* before them was perhaps meant to be significant.

*clavarium*] No doubt military slang, equivalent to the *calcearium* of Suetonius. The joke, such as it is, consists in their representing the money they demanded as only enough to replace the shoe-leather or the hob-nails (Juv. iii. 248, xvi. 24 *sq.*) they had worn out on the march.

*Nec . . . et*] Correlative; they made two blunders, in not having sent regular requisitions in advance of the army, and in allowing it to plunder as soon as it came.

51 Celeberrimos auctores habeo, tantam victoribus adversus fas nefasque irreverentiam fuisse, ut gregarius eques, occisum a se proxima acie fratrem professus, praemium a ducibus petierit. Nec illis aut honorare eam caedem jus hominum aut ulcisci 2 ratio belli permittebat. Distulerant tamquam majora meritum quam quae statim exsolverentur; nec quidquam ultra traditur. Ceterum et prioribus civium bellis par scelus inciderat. Nam 3 praelio quo apud Janiculum adversus Cinnam pugnatum est, Pompeianus miles fratrem suum, dein, cognito facinore, se ipsum interfecit, ut Sisenna memorat. Tanto acrior apud 4 majores, sicut virtutibus gloria, ita flagitiis paenitentia fuit. Sed haec aliaque ex vetere memoria petita, quoties res locusque exempla recti aut solatia mali poscet, haud absurde 52 memorabimus. Antonio ducibusque partium praemitti equites omnemque Umbriam explorari placuit, si qua Apennini juga clementius adirentur; acciri aquilas signaque et quidquid Veronae militum foret, Padumque et mare commeatibus compleri. Erant inter duces qui necterent moras: quippe

CH. LI. 1 tantam . . . irreverentiam] It is curious that Tac. treats this as proving more than individual brutality, whereas the similar story of c. 25 does something to prove the reverse. Certainly the civil wars of the late Republic were as bad 'good old times' as were ever imagined.

3 praelio . . . adv. Cinnam] B.C. 87. We have the same story mentioned as told by Livy, *Epit.* lxxix., and Valerius Maximus, v. 5. 4. The latter (and Orosius) make the slain man a soldier of Sertorius; the stories may be reconciled by supposing Sertorius to have held a command under Cinna, and his troops to have been those actually engaged against Cn. Pompeius (Strabo). The authorities for the second story may or may not have confounded this fighting before Rome with the more famous campaign of the younger

Pompey against Sertorius; probably, though the elder Pompey was held to fight 'for his own hand' rather than for the Senate, Tac. would not, except in the light of later history, have used the form *Pompeianus*, nor Valerius *Sertorianus*, which imply rather attachment to a party leader than allegiance to a divisional commander.

4 Tanto acrior, etc.] Certainly the son, in c. 25, did not kill himself, but Tacitus' contemporaries were ready to do so on much less occasion, so that nothing can be proved by his omission.

haec aliaque] As in c. 72, especially § 2, where again these civil wars are compared with the former as a climax of horror.

CH. LII. 1 clementius] So *Ann.* xiii. 38. 5, *Germ.* I. 3; as we say, 'a gentle slope.'

aquilas signaque] 50. 1, 60. 1.

nimius jam Antonius, et certiora ex Muciano sperabantur. Namque Mucianus, tam celeri Victoria anxius, et, ni praesens <sup>2</sup> urbe potiretur, expertem se belli gloriaeque ratus, ad Primum et Varum media scriptitabat, instandum coepitis aut rursus cunctandi utilitates edisserens, atque ita compositus ut ex eventu rerum adversa abnueret vel prospera agnosceret. Plotium Grifum, nuper a Vespasiano in senatorium ordinem <sup>3</sup> additum ac legioni praepositum, ceterosque sibi fidos apertius monuit. Hique omnes de festinatione Primi ac Vari sinistre <sup>4</sup> et Muciano volentia rescriptsere. Quibus epistolis Vespasiano missis effecerat, ut non pro spe Antonii consilia factaque <sup>53</sup> ejus aestimarentur. Aegre id pati Antonius, et culpam in Mucianum conferre, cujus criminibus eviliuissent pericula sua. Nec sermonibus temperabat, inmodicus lingua et obsequii insolens. Litteras ad Vespasianum composuit jac- <sup>2</sup> tantius quam ad principem, nec sine occulta in Mucianum insectatione: se Pannonicas legiones in arma egiisse; suis stimulis excitos Moesiae duces, sua constantia perruptas Alpes, occupatam Italiam, intersepta Germanorum Raetorumque auxilia. Quod discordes dispersasque Vitellii legiones <sup>3</sup> equestri procella, mox peditum vi per diem noctemque fudisset, id pulcherrimum et sui operis. Casum Cremonae bello inpu- <sup>4</sup> tandum: majore damno, plurium urbium excidiis, veteres civium discordias rei publicae stetisse. Non se nuntiis neque epistolis, sed manu et armis imperatori suo militare. Neque

<sup>2</sup> *media*] Almost *i.q. ambigua*, 'neither one way nor the other.'

<sup>3</sup> *Grifum*] *iv. 39. 1, 40. 4.*

*apertius monuit* may mean either 'he gave them clearer instructions' as to their conduct, or fuller avowals of his own motives, and the position he considered himself to hold.

<sup>4</sup> *volentia*] So *Ann. xv. 36. 6*, *haec atque talia plebi volentia fuere*; *Sall. Hist. iv. c. 5. fr. 57*, *volentia plebi facturus habebatur*.

CH. LIII. <sup>1</sup> *inmodicus lingua*

More frequent with gen., but cf. *i. 69. 2*; *modicus* likewise has the abl. in *Ann. vi. 30. 3*.

<sup>2</sup> *composuit*] Wrote in studied language.

*se . . . egiisse*] *ii. 86. 1.*

*sua constantia*] Above, <sup>2</sup>. *3.*

<sup>3</sup> *equestri procella*] *2. 8, 16. 2, 3*, show how much and how little he deserved the credit he claimed.

<sup>4</sup> *bello*] To the fact of there being war at all.

officere gloriae eorum qui Asiam interim composuerint. Illis Moesiae pacem, sibi salutem securitatemque Italiae cordi fuisse; suis exhortationibus Gallias Hispaniasque, validissimam terrarum partem, ad Vespasianum conversas. Sed cecidisse 6 in inritum labores, si praemia periculorum soli adsequantur qui periculis non adfuerint. Nec fefellere ea Mucianum: inde graves simultates, quas Antonius simplicius, Mucianus callide eoque in placabilius nutribat.

54 At Vitellius, fractis apud Cremonam rebus, nuntios cladis occultans, stulta dissimulatione remedia potius malorum quam mala differebat. Quippe confitenti consultantique supererant spes viresque; cum e contrario laeta omnia fingeret, falsis ingravescebat. Mirum apud ipsum de bello silentium; pro 2 hibiti per civitatem sermones, eoque plures, ac, si liceret, vere narraturi, quia vetabantur, atrociora volgaverant. Nec duces 3 hostium augendae famae deerant, captos Vitellii exploratores circumductosque, ut robora victoris exercitus noscerent, remittendo; quos omnis Vitellius secreto percunctatus interfici jussit. Notabili constantia centurio Julius Agrestis, post 4 multos sermones quibus Vitellium ad virtutem frustra accendebat, perpulit ut ad vires hostium spectandas, quaeque apud Cremonam acta forent, ipse mitteretur. Nec exploratione 5 occulta fallere Antonium tentavit, sed mandata imperatoris

5 gloriae . . . Asiam . . . composuerint] Sarcastic; there were no disturbances in Asia, if there had been there would have been no glory in settling them among such feeble folk. But *Moesiae pacem* refers to a real and important service, 46. 3.

Gallias Hispaniasque] 44. 1.

CH. LIV. 1 ingravescebat] 'He grew worse,' as one says of a sick man. So we have *corpora defectione ingravescent* in Cic. *de Sen.* 11. 36, and a use with a personal subject in Plin. *Ep.* ii. 20. The constr. *malum,*

*morbus*, etc., *ingravescit* (c. dat.) is no doubt commoner.

2 eoque plures . . . atrociora volgaverant] Both comparatives are correlative to *eo*; in proportion as the telling of news was checked, more people told more unfavourable news.

5 mandata imperatoris . . . professus] He treated Antonius as being, like himself, bound to acknowledge Vitellius' orders, and tell him everything their common commander had commissioned him to ask. It seemssimplest to take *suum animum*

suumque animum professus, ut cuncta viseret, postulat. Missi qui locum praelii, Cremonae vestigia, captas legiones ostenderent. Agrestis ad Vitellium remeavit, abnuentique vera esse 6 quae adserret, atque ulti corruptum arguenti, 'Quandoquidem,' inquit, 'magno documento opus est, nec alius jam tibi aut vitae aut mortis meac usus, dabo cui credas.' Atque ita 7 digressus voluntaria morte dicta firmavit. Quidam jussu Vitellii interfectum, de fide constantiaque eadem tradidere.

55 Vitellius, ut e somno excitus, Julium Priscum et Alsenium Varum cum quattuordecim praetoriis cohortibus et omnibus equitum alis obsidere Apenninum jubet. Secuta e classicis legio. Tot milia armatorum, lecta equis virisque, si dux alius foret, inferendo quoque bello satis pollebant. Ceterac 2 cohortes ad tuendam urbem L. Vitellio fratri datae. Ipse nihil e solito luxu remittens, et diffidentia properus, festinare comitia, quibus consules in multos annos destinabat; foedera sociis, Latium externis dilargiri; his tributa dimittere, alios

as simply correlative to *mand. imp.*, 'his own motive in coming,' as at 55. 4, though Or. makes it a climax: 'the emperor's charge, and his own sincere zeal in executing it.'

7 **dicta firmavit**] The confirmation was, that he was indifferent to his own interest, apart from his emperor's, and so could not have been corrupted—not, as might occur to a modern, that a man could not be supposed to lie on the eve of death, or that his loyalty being doubted made life insupportable.

CH. LV. 1 **Julium Priscum et Alsenium Varum**] ii. 92. 1, iii. 36. 4.

e **classicis legio**] Newly raised from the fleet of Misenum; perhaps in hopes (soon disappointed, 57. 1) to prevent its following the example of that of Ravenna, which had received (50. 3) the same honour from the other side.

2 **Ceterae cohortes**] Two prae-

torian, besides the four urban, ii. 93. 3.

**foedera sociis, Latium externis**] The *socii* are Greek or Hellenised communities put by Vitellius in the position of *civitates foederatae*; the *externi* are alien nations raised *en masse* to the condition of *Latini*; Plin. *Pan.* 37 has *per Latium in civitatem venire*, which seems to be the only other place where the simple pr. n. is used for *jus Latii* (*Ann.* xv. 32. 1) or *Latinitas*.

**his . . . alios**] Simply 'some,' and 'others,' with no references to either of the two classes last named.

**dimittere** means, according to Or., a permanent abolition of the tribute, while *remittere* would only mean that it was excused for a time. Certainly *remittere in . . . annos* (*in triennium*, Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4. 9. 21) is common; *dimittere* in this context is not common at all, but it is perhaps safer to infer that the re-

immunitatibus juvare; denique nulla in posterum cura lace-  
rare imperium. Sed volgus ad magnitudinem beneficiorum 3  
aderat; stultissimus quisque pecuniis mercabatur; apud  
sapientes cassa habebantur, quae neque dari neque accipi,  
salva republica, poterant. Tandem flagitante exercitu, qui 4  
Mevaniam insederat, magno senatorum agmine, quorum multos  
ambitione, plures formidine trahebat, in castra venit, incertus  
56 animi, et infidis consiliis obnoxius. Contionanti (prodigiosum  
dictu,) tantum foedarum volucrum supervolitavit, ut nube atra  
diem obtenderent. Accessit dirum omen, profugus altaribus  
taurus, disjecto sacrificii apparatu, longe, nec ubi feriri hostias  
mos est, confossus. Sed praecipuum ipse Vitellius ostentum 2  
erat, ignarus militiae, inprovidus consilii, quis ordo agminis,  
quae cura explorandi, quantus urguendo trahendove bello  
modus, alios rogitans, et ad omnis nuntios voltu quoque et  
incessu trepidus, dein temulentus. Postremo taedio castro- 3  
rum, et audita defectione Misenensis classis, Romam revertit,  
recentissimum quodque volnus pavens, summi discriminis  
incuriosus. Nam cum transgredi Apenninum integro exer- 4  
citus sui robore et fessos hieme atque inopia hostes adgredi in  
aperto foret, dum dispergit vires, acerrimum militem et usque  
in extrema obstinatum trucidandum capiendumque tradidit,

mission was meant to be permanent  
from the context than the word.

3 aderat] 'Was on his side,'  
something like the use of *praesens*,  
of a favourable god. The word,  
however, is a correction. M. is cor-  
rupt, *haberat*, and *hiabat* is almost as  
plausible a conjecture.

*mercabatur*] Sc. *beneficia*.

4 *ambitione*] 'By way of court-  
ing him,' i. 1. 3, etc.

*agmine*] For the modal abl. with-  
out *cum*, see note on 10. 4.

*incertus animi*] His suspicions  
prevented his acting with vigour,  
even if he had it in him.

CH. LVI. 1 *foedarum volucrum*]

Vultures, according to Dio; he says  
that the occasion was one of a sacri-  
fice as well as a speech, that they  
flew upon the victims, and nearly  
knocked the emperor down—which  
sounds like a real incident.

*dirum omen, profugus... taurus*  
etc.] Comp. Virg. *Georg.* iv. 486 *sqq.*

2 *Sed... ostentum*] Cf. *Ann.*  
xv. 34. 3, *Vatinius inter foedissima*  
*ejus aulae ostenta fuit*.

3 *summi discriminis*] So *summae*  
*rei discriminem*, v. 15. 3, *Ann.* ii. 12. 3.

4 *hieme*] See on 22. 1.

*dispergit vires*] 58. 1.

*capiendumque*] Virtually equi-  
valent to *capiendumve*, or it would

peritissimis centurionum dissentientibus et, si consulerentur, vera dicturis. Arcuere eos intimi amicorum Vitellii, ita for- 5 matis principis auribus ut aspera, quae utilia, nec quidquam nisi jucundum et laesurum acciperet.

57 Sed classem Misenensem (tantum civilibus discordiis etiam singulorum audacia valet,) Claudius Faventinus centurio, per ignominiam a Galba dimissus, ad defectionem traxit, fictis Vespasiani epistolis pretium proditionis ostentans. Praeerat 2 classi Claudius Apollinaris, neque fidei constans neque strenuus in perfidia. Et Apinius Tiro, praetura functus, ac tum forte Minturnis agens, ducem se defectoribus obtulit. A quibus municipia coloniaeque impulsae, praecipuo Puteolanorum in Vespasianum studio, contra Capua Vitellio fida, municipalem aemulationem bellis civilibus miscebant. Vitellius 3 Claudium Julianum (is nuper classem Misenensem molli imperio rexerat,) permulcendis militum animis delegit. Data in auxilium urbana cohors et gladiatores, quibus Julianus praeerat. Ut collata utrimque castra, haud magna cuncta- 4 tione Juliano in partes Vespasiani transgresso, Tarracinam occupavere, moenibus situque magis quam ipsorum ingenio 58 tutam. Quae ubi Vitellio cognita, parte copiarum Narniae

be an anticlimax, and besides would be no illustration of their courage or devotion. He left them where all who were not slaughtered would be forced to surrender.

5 **aspera . . . acciperet**] To be construed together, not *aspera quae utilia* to be taken as a sentence with the copula suppressed. There is thus a sort of zeugma in the use of *acciperet*, which means in the first clause 'to regard' and in the second 'to adopt.' The constr. of *accipere* in the former sense, with an adj. as predicate instead of the more usual adv., may be illustrated by i. 52. 3: some would read *aspere* here.

CH. LVII. 2 **Apollinaris**] 76. 2, 77. 3.

**Tiro**] 76. 3.

**municipalem . . . miscebant**] Cf. i. 65. 1, iv. 3. 1.

3 **urbana cohors**] See on 55. 1.

4 **situque**] *Impositum saxis late cendentibus*, Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 26.

**ipsorum**] Of Tiro, Apollinaris, Julianus, and their men, not of the townspeople. The censure passed on them here is in the light of their subsequent rout by L. Vitellius, c. 76 sq.

CH. LVIII. 1 **parte . . . praetorii**] 55. 1. In excuse for the blunder noted by Tac. (56. 4) it should be remembered that Vitellius could hardly trust any one above a centurion, except his brother. He trusted him to execute a subordinate

cum praefectis praetorii relicta, L. Vitellium fratrem, cum sex cohortibus et quingentis equitibus, ingruenti per Campaniam bello opposuit. Ipse, aeger animi, studiis militum <sup>2</sup> et clamoribus populi arma poscentis, refovebatur, dum volgus ignavum, et nihil ultra verba ausurum, falsa specie exercitum et legiones appellat. Hortantibus libertis (nam amicorum <sup>3</sup> ejus quanto quis clarior, minus fidus,) vocari tribus jubet, dantes nomina sacramento adigit. Superfluente multitudine curam delectus in consules partitur. Servorum numerum et pondus argenti senatoribus indicit. Equites Romani obtulere <sup>4</sup> operam pecuniasque, etiam libertinis idem munus ultro flagitantibus. Ea simulatio officii a metu profecta verterat in favorem ; ac plerique haud perinde Vitellium quam casum locumque principatus miserabantur. Nec deerat ipse voltu, <sup>5</sup> voce, lacrimis misericordiam elicere, largus promissis, et quae natura trepidantium est, inmodicus. Quin et Caesarem se dici voluit, aspernatus antea ; sed tunc superstitione nominis,

movement, which he did with brilliant success ; he did not venture to allow the main army out of his own reach, and, being incompetent to command it, tried to raise a reserve.

<sup>3</sup> *tribus . . . dantes nomina . . . delectus*] It is curious that these bits of pedantic antiquarianism are ascribed to freedmen, they harmonise so well with what we have often noticed of Vitellius' own pseudo-republicanism. Perhaps that rôle was suggested to him (cf. ii. 91. 5, *mitigantibus amicis*) by a freedman cleverer than himself, though adopted by him with too much vanity to be dishonest. The old-fashioned civic levies had been virtually obsolete, not only since the rise of a standing army under Marius, but from the establishment of Roman supremacy, by the overthrow of Carthage, Macedon, and Syria.

<sup>4</sup> *operam*] 'Labour'—they also furnished slaves and money, like the

senators. It can scarcely mean 'personal service.'

**verterat in favorem**] Hardly 'had changed into enthusiasm'—*favor* is no more than 'popularity,' only conceived on the active not the passive side. The meaning is, that individuals readily yielded to Vitellius' requisitions from fear : others, who saw their conduct but not their real motives, caught the contagion of their supposed motives, and imitated their conduct.

**5 deerat**] C. inf., as often from i. 36. 3 onwards.

**aspernatus antea**] i. 62. 4, ii. 62. 3. *Voluit* perhaps does not imply that he actually assumed the title : there is no trace of it on his coins, which probably would be struck, if anything, in increasing numbers. Perhaps the Senate showed itself in no hurry to vote it, and it may be included in *quae non dabantur remisit*.

**superstitione nominis**] From

et quia in metu consilia prudentium et volgi rumor juxta audiuntur. Ceterum ut omnia inconsulti impetus coepit 6 initiis valida spatio languescunt, dilabi paulatim, senatores equitesque, primo cunctanter et ubi ipse non aderat, mox contemptim et sine discriminē, donec Vitellius, pudore inriti conatus, quae non dabantur, remisit.

59 Ut terrorem Italiae possessa Mevania ac velut renatum ex integro bellum intulerat, ita haud dubium erga Flavianas partes studium tam pavidus Vitellii discessus addidit. Erectus 2 Samnis Pelignusque et Marsi aemulatione, quod Campania praevenisset, ut in novo obsequio, ad cuncta belli munia acres erant. Sed foeda hieme per transitum Apennini conflictatus 3 exercitus; et vix quieto agmine nives eluctantibus patuit quantum discriminis adeundum foret, ni Vitellium retro fortuna vertisset, quae Flavianis ducibus non minus saepe quam ratio adfuit. Obvium illic Petilium Ceriale habuere, agresti 4 cultu et notitia locorum custodias Vitellii elapsum. Propinqua adfinitas Ceriali cum Vespasiano, nec ipse inglorius militiae; coque inter duces adsumptus est. Flavio quoque Sabino ac 5 Domitiano patuisse effugium multi tradidere; et missi ab Antonio nuntii per varias fallendi artes penetrabant, locum ac praesidium monstrantes. Sabinus inhabilem labori et audaciae 6

belief in the sanctity of the name. One may illustrate from the use of the word in Virg. *Aen.* xii. 817, *una superstatio superis quae redditā divis.* Perhaps Virgil and even Tacitus were led to use the word in an uncommon constr. by a theory, right or wrong, of its etymology, as a power 'standing above' men.

CH. LIX. 1 **possessa**] Used similarly of military occupation in 8. 2.

2 **Erectus**] 'Roused to activity,' though *aemulatione* serves to characterise the effect produced, as well as to state its cause.

3 **vix . . . eluctantibus** of course go together: Or. strangely explains *vix quieto* 'quippe quod prope continuo turbaretur atque interrumperetur.' Tac. says simply, 'they scarcely forced their way through the snow unopposed: what could they have done if Vitellius had opposed them?'

4 **Ceriale**] *Ann.* xiv. 32. 6, *Agr.* 17. 2 *inf.*, iv. 68. 1, 71. 1, etc.

Propinqua adfinitas] Not to be traced.

**militiae**] Perhaps put as a restriction: it is plain his personal character was not high.

valetudinem causabatur ; Domitiano aderat animus ; sed custodes a Vitellio additi, quamquam se socios fugae promitterent, tamquam insidiantes timebantur. Atque ipse Vitellius, respectu suarum necessitudinum, nihil in Domitianum atrox parabat.

60 Duces partium, ut Carsulas venere, paucos ad requiem dies sumunt, donec aquilae signaque legionum adsequerentur, et locus ipse castrorum placebat, late prospectans, tuto copiarum adgestu, florentissimis pone tergum municipiis. Simul collo- 2 quia cum Vitellianis decem milium spatio distantibus et proditio sperabatur. Aegre id pati miles, et victoram malle quam pacem. Ne suas quidem legiones opperiebantur, ut praedae quam periculorum socias. Vocatos ad contionem 3 Antonius docuit esse adhuc Vitellio vires, ambiguas, si deliberarent, acres, si desperassent. Initia bellorum civilium fortunae permittenda : victoram consiliis et ratione perfici. Jam Misenensem classem et pulcherrimam Campaniae oram 4 descivisse ; nec plus e toto terrarum orbe reliquum Vitellio quam quod inter Tarracinam Narniamque jaceat. Satis gloriae praelio Cremonensi partum, et exitio Cremonae nimium invidae. Ne concupiscerent Romam capere potius quam servare. 5 Majora illis praemia, et multo maximum decus, si incolumi-

6 *animus*] 'Spirit' for the hazardous enterprise, as well as 'inclination.'

7 *ipse* V.] His partisans were not equally to be trusted, so that when he lost control of them, Domitian had to take refuge in the Capitol, 69. 5.

CH. LX. 1 *aquilae signaque*] 52. 1.

2 *Ne suas quidem legiones*] Implied in *aquilae signaque leg.* : see on 50. 1. Here as in ii. 22. 1, etc., *legiones* seems to mean 'legionary troops,' for there were not, so far as appears, whole legions left behind but within reach.

*praedae quam periculorum*] The omission of *magis* or *potius* is here perhaps helped by *malle* in the preceding line : it is common in Tacitus, e.g. 70. 2, *Ann.* i. 58. 2, *pacem quam bellum probabam*.

3 *ambiguas si deliberarent*] 'Untrustworthy, if they were allowed time to consider.' The subject to *deliberarent* must, from the order of words, be the same as that of *desperassent*, viz. *vires*, or rather a more personal word (e.g. *milites*) to be supplied from it.

4 *inter Tarracinam Narniamque*] A rather curious measurement—from the extreme post held by

tatem senatui populoque Romano sine sanguine quaesissent.

61 His ac talibus mitigati animi. Nec multo post legiones venere. Et terrore famaque aucti exercitus Vitellianae cohortes nutabant, nullo in bellum adhortante, multis ad transitionem, qui suas centurias turmasque tradere, donum vitori, et sibi in posterum gratiam, certabant. Per eos cognitum est Inter- 2 amnam proximis campis praesidio quadringentorum equitum teneri. Missus extempsito Varus cum expedita manu paucos repugnantium interfecit; plures, abjectis armis, veniam peti- vere. Quidam in castra refugi cuncta formidine implebant, 3 augendo rumoribus virtutem copiasque hostium, quo amissi praesidii dedecus lenirent. Nec ulla apud Vitellianos flagitii poena, et praemiis defectorum versa fides, ac reliquum perfidiae certamen. Crebra transfugia tribunorum centurionumque. Nam gregarius miles induruerat pro Vitellio, donec 4 Priscus et Alfenius, desertis castris, ad Vitellium regressi pudore prodictionis cunctos exsolverent.

62 Iisdem diebus Fabius Valens Urbini in custodia interficitur. Caput ejus Vitellianis cohortibus ostentatum, ne quam ultra spem soverent: nam pervasisse in Germanias Valentem et veteres illic novosque exercitus cire credebant. Visa caede 2 in desperationem versi. Et Flavianus exercitus immane quan-

Vitellius on one side, to the extreme post held against him on the other. Perhaps it is an anticipation (if so, on Tacitus' part, not Antonius') of L. Vitellius' speedy recovery of Tarracina.

CH. LXI. 1 **donum**] Or. compares i. 44. 3, iv. 18. 4 for this use of the accus. It scarcely appears that the constr. is the same in the two places: *hortamenta . . . pudorem* in the latter are in a sort of apposition to *matrem . . . sorores . . . conuges . . . liberos*, while in the former *munimentum* and *ultionem* are a sort of cognate acc. after the whole action of the sentence, like

Eur. *Or.* 1105, 'Ελένην κτάνωμεν,  
Μενέλεω λυπήν πικράν.

2 **Varus**] Of course Arrius the Flavian, not Alfenius the Vitellian leader.

paucos repugnantium] See on 12. 3.

3 **reliquum perfidiae certamen**] Illustrated by i. 38. 5: 'the only contest thenceforth remaining was, which could be foremost in treason.'

4 **pudore . . . exsolverent**] Almost the same words occur in *Ann.* vi. 44. 7 *fin.* For the ultimate fate of Priscus, see iv. 11. 5.

CH. LXII. 1 **in Germanias**] 41. 4.  
2 **immane quantum**] Probably

tum animo exitium Valentis ut finem belli accepit. Natus erat Valens Anagniae, equestri familia. Procas moribus, neque absurdus ingenio, famam urbanitatis per lasciviam petere. Ludicro juvenum sub Nerone velut ex necessitate, mox sponte mihi actitavit, scite magis quam probe. Legatus legionis et fuit Verginium et infamavit. Fonteium Capitom corruptum, seu quia corrumpere nequiverat, interfecit. Galbae proditor, Vitellio fidus et aliorum perfidia inlustratus.

63 Abrupta undique spe, Vitellianus miles, transiturus in partes, id quoque non sine decore, sed sub signis vexillisque in subjectos Narniae campos descendere. Flavianus exercitus, ut ad praelium intentus ornatusque, densis circa viam ordinibus adstiterat. Accepti in medium Vitelliani, et circumdatos 2 Primus Antonius clementer adloquitur. Pars Narniae, pars Interamnae subsistere jussi. Relictae simul e victricibus legiones, neque quiescentibus graves et adversus contumaciam validae. Non omisere per eos dies Primus ac Varus crebris 3

adopted here and at iv. 34. 7 from Hor. *Od. i. 27. 6*, and by the latter from the common Grecism *ἀνήχασον δούλου*. *Animo* in constr. goes with *acepit*: but it almost gives the sense ‘raised their spirits immensely, by the view . . .’: some would read *aucta* or *auctus*.

3 *ingenio*] Generally of intellectual faculties, but this and the similar passage, Sal. *Cat. 24. 5*, *verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum*, are perhaps the only places where it is distinctly opposed to moral excellence.

*petere*] Tac. did not determine whether this is a hist. inf., or depending more or less loosely on the two adjectives, ‘a dissolute character, and an intellect not contemptible, led him to seek . . .’

*Juvenum*] From *Ann. xiv. 15. 1*, some conjecture *Juvenalium*. Or shows from a passage in *Callistratus* and several inscr. that *Juvenes* was a half technical term for com-

panies of amateur actors. Not improbably the two words were used as correlative.

4 *infamavit* seems to point to the same imperfectly known events as i. 8. 8.

*Fonteium, etc.] i. 7. 1, 2.*

CH. LXIII. 1 *id quoque*] ‘Were resolved to do even that’ or ‘did even that,’ according as we suppose the acc. (see on 61. 1) to depend exclusively on *descendere* or, in a less direct way, on *transiturus in partes*.

*sub signis vexillisque*] In contrast with those who surrendered at Cremona, 31. 5.

*descendere*] Perhaps likelier to be a hist. inf. than a pl. agreeing with the collective *miles*.

*viam*] *Flaminium*, 79. 1.

2 *legiones*] See on 60. 2.

neque . . . *validae*] Enough to keep them down in case of a disturbance, but not enough to offend them by their presence.

nuntiis salutem et pecuniam et secreta Campaniae offerre Vitellio, si, positis armis, seque ac liberos suos Vespasiano permisisset. In eundem modum et Mucianus composuit 4 epistolas; quibus plerumque fidere Vitellius, ac de numero servorum, electione litorum, loqui. Tanta torpedo invaserat animum ut, si principem eum fuisse ceteri non meminissent, ipse 64 oblivisceretur. At primores civitatis Flavium Sabinum, praefectum urbis, secretis sermonibus incitabant, victoriae famaeque partem capesseret. Esse illi proprium militem cohortium, urbanarum, nec defuturas vigilum cohortes, servitia ipsorum, fortunam partium, et omnia prona victoribus. Ne Antonio 2 Varoque de gloria concederet. Paucas Vitellio cohortes, et maestis undique nuntiis trepidas; populi mobilem animum, et si ducem se praebuisse, easdem illas adulaciones pro Vespasiano fore. Ipsum Vitellium ne prosperis quidem 3 parem: adeo ruentibus debilitatum. Gratiam patrati belli

3 salutem] Cf. i. 74. 1.

secreta Campaniae] Cf. *secretum Asiae* in i. 10. 2.

4 **torpedo**] Or. understands this of his stupidity in thinking such promises would be kept: but trusting to them was now really Vitellius' best chance of life, for himself and his family. Rather it refers to the sluggish nature, that held life worth saving at the price of empire. Otho had known, and perhaps Mucianus and Vespasian would have, that such a life as an emperor could secure him would satisfy Vitellius' desires as well as being emperor himself.

CH. LXIV. 1 **capesseret**] Not a final clause with *ut* omitted, but an imperative thrown into *oratio obliqua*.

**cohortium urbanarum**] 4000 men, ii. 93. 3. Yet these were old Vitellian troops: the older cohorts, which no doubt would have been personally attached to their com-

mander (cf. i. 46. 2) seem to have been discharged like the Praetorians.

**vigillum cohortes**] Their duties seem to have been rather those of police than soldiers, but they had a quasi-military organisation and discipline that made them available for military service within the city.

**ipsorum**] Of his advisers, the *primores civitatis*. *Sua* would have been ambiguous, naturally referring to *illi*, the virtual subject of this sentence.

**omnia prona victoribus**] Exactly parallel in constr. to *nihil arduum fatis* in ii. 82. 5.

2 **Paucas**] Three, says Or., referring to 78. 4. But though these were all engaged at the Capitol, a larger force of regulars seems implied in 69. 1, 82. 3. The three cohorts of 78. 4 are perhaps Praetorians; two were left at Rome (55. 2), and one may have returned thither with Vitellius himself.

penes eum qui urbem occupâisset. Id Sabino convenire, ut imperium fratri reservaret; id Vespasiano, ut ceteri post 65 Sabinum haberentur. Haudquaquam erecto animo eas voces accipiebat, invalidus senecta. Erant qui occultis suspicionibus incesserent, tamquam invidia et aemulatione fortunam fratris moraretur. Namque Flavius Sabinus, aetate prior, 2 privatis utriusque rebus auctoritate pecuniaque Vespasianum anteibat, et credebatur adfectam ejus fidem praejuvisse, domo agrisque pignori acceptis; unde, quamquam manente in speciem concordia, offensarum operta metuebantur. Melior 3 interpretatio, mitem virum abhorrere a sanguine et caedibus, eoque crebris cum Vitellio sermonibus de pace ponendisque per condicionem armis agitare. Saepe domi congressi, postremo in aede Apollinis, ut fama fuit, pepigere. Verba voces- 4

3 Id Sabino . . . id Vespasiano] It was not a legitimate object of ambition for Sabinus to displace his brother, but it *was* to secure the next place to him—a place sure to be secured by whoever brought over the city to him.

CH. LXV. 1 *senecta*] He was older than Vespasian, who was sixty, ii. 74. 4.

2 *privatis utriusque rebus . . . V. anteibat*] 75. 2: contrast however i. 46. 2.

*adfectam ejus fidem*] According to Suetonius, this was just after his government of Africa, and he sees a proof of his integrity in office, in his having made no money by it: contrast sup. ii. 97. 4.

*praejuvisse*] ἀπαξ λεγόμενον: usually explained, ‘to have helped in time.’ Or. supposes it to be formed on the analogy of προβοηθεῖν. It seems almost to suit the context better, to give the prep. the sense it bears in *praegravio* and *praecludo*, of ‘getting in the way,’ so that the meaning would be ‘to have given embarrassing help’—combining the meanings of *officium* and *officere*.

domo agrisque pignori acceptis] Which struck most people as sharp practice with a brother, and they expected him to resent it. Or. truly says, that it might proceed only from the timid and suspicious temper ascribed to him here and in ii. 63. 5.

3 *Melior*] More charitable, and perhaps more probable. The judgment spoken of is a contemporary one (like *erant qui . . . incesserent*), as appears from the presents *abhorrere* and *agitare*.

*Apollinis*] *Palatini*, Or.

ut *fama fuit*] Tac. does not doubt that Vitellius resolved to resign, nor perhaps that the terms were agreed on with Sabinus; but while it was reported that the terms were agreed on at this particular interview, he points out that only two eminent men knew what had really passed then. He accordingly omits the specific statement of Suetonius, that Sabinus promised *salutem et milies tertium*.

4 *Verba vocesque*] Coupled as at *Aen.* iv. 460, *Hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis Visa viri*, which

que duos testes habebant, Cluvium Rufum et Silium Italicum. Voltus procul visentibus notabantur, Vitellii projectus et 66 degener, Sabinus non insultans et miseranti propior. Quodsi tam facile suorum mentes flexisset Vitellius quam ipse cesserat, incruentam urbem Vespasiani exercitus inträisset. Ceterum ut quisque Vitellio fidus, ita pacem et condiciones abnuebant, discrimen ac dedecus ostentantes, et fidem in libidine victoris. Nec tantam Vespasiano superbiam ut privatum Vitellium 2 pateretur: ne victos quidem laturos. Ita periculum ex misericordia. Ipsum sane senem et prosperis adversisque satiatum: sed quod nomen, quem statum filio ejus Germanico fore? Nunc pecuniam et familiam et beatos 3 Campaniae sinus promitti: sed ubi imperium Vespasianus invaserit, non ipsi, non amicis ejus, non denique exercitibus securitatem, nisi extinto aemulatore, reddituram. Fabium 4 illis Valentem, captivum et casibus dubiis reservatum, prægravem fuisse: nedum Primus ac Fuscus et specimen partium

points to a slight distinction between the words. These two were the only persons that heard, not only the words, but even the tone and substance of the conversation. For Cluvius Rufus see i. 8. 2, 76. 2, ii. 65. 1, 4. Silius Italicus, the poet, and consul in the last year of Nero, is not elsewhere mentioned by Tac.

CH. LXVI. 1 **fidem**] The promises made would be mutual, but one side would have free choice whether to keep them or no.

2 **Nec tantam**, etc.] Vespasian would not (as it seems Sabinus did) despise Vitellius so utterly as to think it safe to let him live, 'If he did, even the beaten side (Vitellius' own men) would not stand it; so he was in danger from their very pity,' i.e. they would do anything, force him to fight it out (as they did) till he was killed; or even kill him (as one of them attempted) to

save him and themselves from the disgrace of submission. We might however take the last words, 'he came into danger from *Sabinus*' forbearance.'

**senem**] Fifty-seven, 86. 1.

**3 familiam**] As 63. 4, *de numero servorum*.

4 **casibus dubiis**] A tolerably certain correction for *captis diebus*. There may be a little doubt whether the words are abl. abs. or dat., i.e. whether they give a reason why he was actually spared so long—'held as a hostage *while* success was doubtful,' or point out a motive of policy, which yet had been set aside, for sparing him longer—'held in reserve *for* uncertain events.'

**specimen partium**] From his character in i. 10 we are hardly prepared to find him thus placed above Antonius in a climax of vice. Perhaps it is rather meant that he was the most distinguished, and so

Mucianus ullam in Vitellium nisi occidendi licentiam habeant. Non a Caesare Pompeium, non ab Augusto Antonium 5 incolumes relictos, nisi forte Vespasianus altiores spiritus gerat, Vitellii cliens, cum Vitellius collega Claudio foret. Quin, ut censuram patris, ut tres consulatus, ut tot egregiae 6 domus honores deceret, desperatione saltem in audaciam accingeretur. Perstare militem, superesse studia populi. Denique nihil atrocius eventurum quam in quod sponte ruant. 7 Moriendum victis, moriendum deditis: id solum referre, novissimum spiritum per lubidrium et contumelias effundant 67 an per virtutem. Surdae ad fortia consilia Vitellio aures. Obruebatur animus miseratione curaque, ne pertinacibus armis minus placabilem victorem relinquenter conjugi ac liberis. Erat illi et fessa aetate parens; quae tamen, paucis ante 2 diebus, opportuna morte excidium domus praevenit, nihil principatu filii adsecuta nisi luctum et bonam famam. xv. Kalendas Januarias, audita defectione legionis cohortiumque, quae se Narniae dediderant, pullo amictu Palatio degreditur, maesta circum familia. Simul ferebatur lecticula parvulus 3

the best known, rather than the worst, of the leaders on that side.

**licentiam]** Rather from the soldiers than from Vespasian, perhaps rather from circumstances than either.

**5 Non . . . relictos]** A bad argument (of course not of Tacitus' own); neither had ordered his opponent's death, and Caesar at least was believed to have sincerely regretted it.

**altiores spiritus]** Generally in a bad sense, and even here equivalent to the *superbia* of § 2.

**Vitellii cliens]** When Vitellius was consul, Vespasian, like other men with a career before them, might pay him visits of courtesy that could be thus described.

**collega Claudio]** He was consul in the year when Claudio and his

father were censors, and it seems likelier that this is referred to than that we are to translate 'when a Vitellius,' i.e. his father.

**6 tot . . . honores]** There were not many earlier than those enumerated, though the family was old.

**deceret]** The nearest reading that makes sense to *deceret*, which is found in M. But one of the copies has *negligeret*, which some may think more Tacitean, *ut* being then concessive, 'even if he could disregard . . .'

**CH. LXVII. 2 parens]** Sextilia, ii. 64. 3, 5. She is mentioned here to account for her not being among the objects of his solicitude. Suetonius tells a rather incredible story that her son had her starved in obedience to a German prophetess.

filius, velut in funebrem pomparam. Voces populi blandae et 68 intempestivae; miles minaci silentio. Nec quisquam adeo rerum humanarum inmemor quem non commoveret illa facies, Romanum principem et generis humani paulo ante dominum, relicta fortunae suae sede, per populum, per urbem exire de imperio. Nihil tale viderant, nihil audierant. Repentina vis 2 dictatorem Caesarem oppresserat, occultae Gaium insidiae; nox et ignotum rus fugam Neronis absconderant; Piso et Galba tamquam in acie cecidere. In sua contione Vitellius, 3 inter suos milites, prospectantibus etiam feminis, pauca et praesenti maestitiae congruentia locutus, cedere se pacis et reipublicae causa—retinerent tantum memoriam sui, fratremque et conjugem et innoxiam liberorum aetatem miserarentur—, simul filium protendens, modo singulis modo universis commendans, postremo fletu praepediente, adsistenti consuli (Caecilius Simplex erat,) exsolutum a latere pugionem,

The fact that he had brought the prophetess with him is credible and interesting.

CH. LXVIII. 1 *Nihil tale vide-rant*] In the deaths of Nero, of Galba and Piso, and perhaps of Gaius; *nihil audierant*—in that of the Dictator Caesar.

2 *Repentina vis . . . occultae insidiae*] The antithesis is between an assassination effected in a public place by surprise and one out of sight; for the first had been preconcerted at least as long as the second.

*ignotum rus*] The villa of the freedman Phaon.

*tamquam in acie*] As a cohort with its standards accompanied them, though only one man seems to have fought, i. 41. 1, 43. 1. In describing the latest event, he changes from the *plu.-pf.* used in alluding to the others.

3 *In sua contione*] The *contio* or public meeting was an innovation on the old constitutional *comitia*,

but the Romans never seem to have got so far as to conceive of such a meeting being called and addressed by other than a recognised official, a tribune at least. Hence, under the empire, they (without any formal measure of repression being needed) are only summoned by the emperor, and are naturally called his.

*congruentia*] Notice that with all his grossness and incapacity, he seems not to have been wanting in the essential Roman faculty of ready and effective public speaking.

*innoxiam liberorum aetatem*] He had one daughter just married, i. 59. 4, and one *nubilis*, 78. 2, but they would probably both be under sixteen, and beneath suspicion of political intrigues. Germanicus was a mere baby.

*Simplex*] ii. 60. 5. Where was Atticus, who would doubtless (73. 4) have taken it?

*pugionem*] The *μάχαιρα* of St. Paul (Rom. xiii. 4); see on i. 43. 1.

velut jus necis vitaeque civium, reddebat. Aspernante consule, reclamantibus qui in contione adstiterant, ut in aede Concordiae positurus insignia imperii, domumque fratris petiturus discessit. Major hic clamor obsistentium penatibus privatis, in Palatum vocantium. Interclusum aliud iter, idque solum quod in Sacram viam pergeret patebat. Tum consilii inops in Palatum rediit. Praeviderat rumor ejurari ab eo imperium, scripseratque Flavius Sabinus cohortium tribunis ut militem cohiberent. Igitur tamquam omnis respublica in Vespasiani sinum cessisset, primores senatus et plerique equestris ordinis omnisque miles urbanus et vigiles domum Flavii Sabini complevere. Illuc de studiis volgi et minis Germanicarum cohortium adfertur. Longius jam progressus erat quam ut regredi posset; et suo quisque metu, ne disjectos eoque minus validos Vitelliani consectarentur, cunctantem in arma inpelletabant. Sed, quod in ejusmodi rebus accidit, consilium ab omnibus datum est, periculum

4] Suetonius gives an account of this scene somewhat more creditable to Vitellius, making him more earnest in his offer to resign and less passive in his revocation of it. He says that on the refusal of the dagger by the consul, he offered it to the other magistrates and the senators in turn; when all refused, he said he would dedicate it in the Temple of Concord; they cried 'he was Concord himself,' and he answered that he would accept the title (cf. L. Antonius *Pietas*) and retain the token of power.

5 in Sacram viam] Leading from the Forum (he had spoken on the Rostra, 70. 2) to the Palatine.

6 cohiberent] More than 'keep in order,' he knew that they would not submit to the abdication without positive 'restraint.'

Ch. LXIX. 1 in V. sinum] As we should say, 'into his arms;'

cf. i. 52. 7.

miles urbanus et vigiles] Cf. 64. 1.

Germanicarum cohortium] Thirty-four had entered the city with Vitellius (ii. 89. 2), some, but probably not many, had marched with Caecina (ii. 100. 1); and three had been sent to Valens; probably there were still several thousand men, in spite of 64. 2, 78. 4.

2 disjectos . . . consectarentur] If Sabinus did not assemble an armed force in Rome, the only safety for individuals who had committed themselves was to fly to the army. The wisest course, Tac. thinks (§ 9), would have been to withdraw armed and in a body, but he here explains why men were afraid to withdraw otherwise.

3 periculum pauci sumpsero] If some took up arms, those who did not could hardly be attacked.

pauci sumpsere. Circa lacum Fundani descendantibus, qui Sabinum comitabantur, armatis occurunt promptissimi Vitellianorum. Modicum ibi praelium improviso tumultu, sed prosperum Vitellianis fuit. Sabinus re trepida, quod tutissimum e praesentibus, arcem Capitolii insedit mixto milite et quibusdam senatorum equitumque; quorum nomina tradere haud promptum est, quoniam, victore Vespasiano, multi id meritum erga partes simulavere. Subierunt obsidium etiam seminae, inter quas maxime insignis Verulana Gratilla, neque liberos neque propinquos sed bellum secuta. Vitellianus 5 miles socordi custodia clausos circumdedit; eoque, concubia nocte, suos liberos Sabinus et Domitianum fratris filium in Capitolium accivit, misso per neglecta ad Flavianos duces nuntio, qui circumsideri ipsos et, ni subveniretur, artas res nuntiaret. Noctem adeo quietam egit, ut digredi sine noxa 6 potuerit: quippe miles Vitellii, adversus pericula ferox, laboribus et vigiliis parum intentus erat, et hibernus imber repente 70 fusus oculos auresque impediabant. Luce prima Sabinus, antequam in vicem hostilia coeptarent, Cornelium Martialem e primipilaribus ad Vitellium misit cum mandatis et questu

**lacum Fundani]** At the foot of the Quirinal. No doubt it was so called from a pond or swamp that had now disappeared, like the more famous *Lacus Curtius*.

**4 arcem Capitolii]** So *Capitolinae arcis* in 71. 1. Livy, on the contrary, usually couples *Arx et Capitolium*, and topographers hold that, strictly speaking, the two were distinct, being names appropriate to the two summits of the Tarpeian hill. *Capitolium* is in itself as much an appellation as *Arx*, but is rarely used of other citadels than the Roman.

**mixto milite et quibusdam]** Exactly the same as if he had written *mixtis*, but the partic. agrees with the nearest subst.

**obsidium]** They expected reverence for the place, or its traditional strength, to prevent an assault.

**5 suos liberos]** He had two sons, Sabinus and Clemens, both afterwards put to death by Domitian.

**6 laboribus et vigiliis]** Compare what was said of their demoralisation, ii. 93. 1.

**Ch. LXX. 1 in vicem hostilia coeptarent]** His own men had marched in arms, but not intending to fight (69. 3) when they were surprised by the Vitellians; he now saw that he must prepare to fight deliberately, and took care to place himself in the right before doing so.

**e primipilaribus]** Related to *primipilus* as *consularis* to *consul*.

quod pacta turbarentur. Simulationem prorsus et imaginem deponendi imperii fuisse, ad decipiendos tot illustres viros. Cur enim e Rostris fratris domum, inminentem foro et inritandis hominum oculis, quam Aventinum et penates uxoris petisset? Ita privato, et omnem principatus speciem vitanti, convenisse. Contra Vitellium in Palatium, in ipsam imperii arcem regressum; inde armatum agmen emissum; stratam innocentium caedibus celeberrimam urbis partem; ne Capitolio quidem abstineri. Togatum nempe se et unum e senatoribus, dum inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium praeliis legionum, captivitatibus urbium, deditioibus cohortium judicatur, jam Hispaniis Germaniisque et Britannia descendentibus, fratrem Vespasiani mansisse in fide, donec ulti ad condicione vocaretur. Pacem et concordiam victis utilia, victoribus tantum pulchra esse. Si conventionis paeniteat, non se, quem perfidia deceperit, ferro peteret, non filium Vespasiani vix

*Simulationem . . . fuisse]* Tac. has never reflected on the distinction between the copula and the verb substantive, and thus he could not tell us whether to translate ‘*there had been* only a pretence and shadow of abdication’ or ‘*his conduct had been* only . . .’

*2 inminentem foro et inritandis, etc.]* Cf. ad i. 8. 2. The zeugma, ‘overhanging the forum and the provocation of men’s eyes,’ is too harsh even for Tacitus.

*quam]* See on 60. 2.

*Aventinum]* 84. 4.

*Ita . . . convenisse]* ‘In this way *his conduct*,’ or ‘*he* would have suited the character of . . .’ It is difficult to say positively what is the subject to *convenisse*: it might be inelegantly reduced to the question, whether *ita* is equivalent to *ita facere* or *ita faciendo*.

*3 emissum* does not necessarily mean more than ‘poured forth’ intransitively, though Sabinus no doubt

means to charge Vitellius with having sent them.

*4 unum e senatoribus]* One like any other: a common meaning of *unus* when emphatic, in various constructions. This seems to be the force of Catullus’ (22. 10) *unus caprimulgus aut fossor*; Horace’s (*Sat.* i. 9. 71) *unus multorum*; Cicero’s (*Rep.* i. 22. 36) *unum e togatis*, (*de Fin.* ii. 20. 66) *unus de multis*, (*de Or.* i. 29. 132) *sicut unus paterfamilia*, (*ad Att.* ix. 10. 2) *tamquam unus manipularis*, and perhaps (*Phil.* ii. 3. 9) *cum uno gladiatore nequissimo*, (though the last may be equivalent to *cum uno nequissimo gladiatore*, ‘the most scoundrelly cutthroat in the world’). We have a similar use below, iv. 8. 5.

*judicatur]* Apparently a unique use of the simple verb in the sense of *djudico*.

*5 vix puberem]* About eighteen.

puberem : quantum occisis uno sene et uno juvene profici ? Iret obviam legionibus, et de summa rerum illic certaret : cetera secundum eventum praelii cessura. Trepidus ad haec 6 Vitellius pauca purgandi sui causa respondit, culpam n militem conferens, cuius nimio ardori inparem esse modestiam suam. Et monuit Martialem ut per secretam aedium partem occulte abiret, ne *a* militibus internuntius invisae pacis interficeretur. Ipse neque jubendi neque vetandi potens, non jam 71 imperator sed tantum belli causa erat. Vixdum regresso in Capitolium Martiale furens miles aderat, nullo duce, sibi quisque auctor. Cito agmine forum et inminentia foro tempula praetervecti erigunt aciem per adversum collem usque ad primas Capitolinae arcis fores. Erant antiquitus porticus in 2 latere clivi, dextrae subeuntibus ; in quarum tectum egressi saxis tegulisque Vitellianos obruebant. Neque illis manus nisi gladiis armatae ; et arcessere tormenta aut missilia tela longum videbatur. Faces in prominentem porticum jecere. Et sequebantur ignem, ambustasque Capitolii fores pene- 3 trassent, ni Sabinus revolsas undique statuas, decora majorum,

**illuc**] In the place where he met them : *obviam* shows enough of its etymology to be treated as a local word.

**6 nimio ardori**] M. has *nimius ardor*.

**Et**] Standing rather emphatically, this seems to mark what follows as a comment on *modestiam*,—‘and in fact’ he did what he could to avoid bad faith.

**militibus**] The omission of the prep. by M. is probably accidental : if not, we must suppose that the dat. properly belongs to *invisam*.

**Ch. LXXI. 1 praetervecti**] The only place where the word seems to be used of passing on foot.

**erigunt aciem**] The regular term for marching up hill (e.g. *Agr.* 18. 3-*fin.*) ; used both, as here, of the

soldiers, and, as there, of the general.

**2 dextrae subeuntibus**] The *porticus* (what would now be called a *loggia*, a covered footpath by the side of the carriage-road, *clivus*) were not structures meant for defence, but they were on the inner or higher side of the *clivus*, and this was designedly constructed so that those advancing up it should present their unshielded side. The same arrangement may still be traced in the *congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis* whose position or insignificance has prevented their outgrowing their primitive plan.

**3 decora majorum**] An obvious reminiscence of Virg. *Aen.* ii. 448 sqq. : *Auratasque trabes, veterum decora alta parentum Devolvunt.*

in ipso aditu vice muri objecisset. Tum diversos Capitolii aditus invadunt, juxta lucum asyli et qua Tarpeia rupes centum gradibus aditur. Improvisa utraque vis; propior atque acrior 4 per asylum ingruebat. Nec sisti poterant scandentes per conjuncta aedificia, quae, ut in multa pace, in altum edita solum Capitolii aequabant. Hic ambigitur, ignem tectis 5 obpugnatores injecerint an obsessi, quae crebrior fama, nitentes ac progressos depulerint. Inde lapsus ignis in porticus adpositas aedibus; mox sustinentes fastigium aquilae vetere ligno traxerunt flammarum alueruntque. Sic Capitolium, clausis 2 foribus, indefensum et indireptum conflagravit. Id facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum foedissimumque rei-

**diversos**] Having failed in their attack up the *clivus*, nearly opposite the Temple, they made two independent ones on the two sides of it. The asylum was *inter duos lucos* (Liv. i. 8) in the hollow between the two summits, and the Tarpeian Rock *beyond* the temple, partly round the corner of the hill.

**4 aedificia . . . aequabant**] A house of a freedman of Claudius was said to dwarf the temple itself, Juv. xiv. 91.

**5 quae crebrior fama**] Perhaps from Atticus' confession, 75. 4, perhaps by a childish sort of pessimism, to discredit Domitian or to grumble against his father.

**nitentes . . . depulerint**] Two MSS. exhibit the conjecture *quo nitentes . . . depellerent*: the text will mean 'did so to thrust them down,' 'thrust them down by that means.'

**aedibus**] The pl. also in iv. 53. 5. Strictly speaking, the Capitoline Temple was three temples in one—to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva (*ibid.* 3).

**aquila**] *I.q. aerol or aerōmara*, 'pediments, gables:' distinct from *fastigium*, as the latter is the roof

going above and outside them. The technical sense of the word is so well established, that it seems needless to suppose carved (and gilt) wooden eagles, as some do.

'The pediments supporting the gable' is not intolerably harsh in English, and the most that can be said of the identity of *fastigium* and *aquila* is, that it makes Tacitus' words equivalent to these.

**clausis foribus, indefensum et indireptum**] The last word proves that the object of the clause is not to blame the besieged for not saving it, but to state a partial consolation for its fall, that it fell unpolluted by slaughter. If we had (complete) Tacitus' account of the burning of the Temple at Jerusalem, we should be better able to judge whether the contrast with this was in his mind. There are, naturally, some resemblances in the circumstances of the two—the conflagration of the surrounding colonnades first, and then of the building itself. But the Jewish temple was far the larger, and its court more than proportionally so, so that the fire does not appear to have spread spontaneously to the shrine.

publicae populi Romani accidit, nullo externo hoste, propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis, sedem Jovis Optimus Maximus auspicato a majoribus, pignus imperii, conditam, quam non Porsenna dedita urbe, neque Galli capta, temerare potuissent, furore principum exscindi. Arserat et ante Capitolium civili 2 bello, sed fraude privata: nunc palam obsessum, palam incensum, quibus armorum causis, quo tantae cladis pretio stetit? Pro patria bellavimus? Voverat Tarquinius Priscus rex bello 3 Sabino, jeceratque fundamenta spe magis futurae magnitudinis quam quo modicae adhuc populi Romani res sufficerent. Mox Servius Tullius sociorum studio, dein Tarquinius Super- 4

CH. LXXII. i reipublicae p. R.]  
A *formula sollemnis*, with the redundant language characteristic of one. In the decree in Liv. xxii. 10. 2, we have it still more redundant, *respublica populi Romani Quiritium.*

**nullo externo hoste]** The Jews and Germans who were in arms against Rome had nothing to do with this calamity.

**propitiis . . . deis]** The conflagration was not 'the act of God' in the legal sense—i.e. from lightning or such natural cause.

**pignus imperii]** Referring to the legend of the omen at its foundation, Liv. i. 55, *quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat.*

**Porsenna]** So, according to M., Tac. wrote it, and the penult seems to have been originally long, as Virgil makes it (*Aen.* viii. 646); Horace (*Epod.* 16. 4), Martial, and Silius Italicus have it short: see Mommsen's *Hist. of Rome*, Book i. c. 9 (vol. i. p. 126, English transl.)

**dedita urbe]** According to the elder Pliny (xxxiv. 14. 39), the treaty of submission was extant, and seems to have been, as Niebuhr says, such as, if it had been imposed by, not upon, the Romans,

would have figured in Livy thus: *agri pars tertia adempta: ferrum interdictum.* Yet the survival of so ancient a document, unknown to all earlier chroniclers, is strange: the story is no doubt more intrinsically credible than the romance popular in Rome, but it is difficult to imagine why the Romans should have elevated an oppressive conqueror into a hero of romance, and perhaps not difficult to imagine that the patriotic vanity of a Clusine annalist may have imposed on the uncritical industry and candour of the emperor Claudius.

**2 et ante]** B.C. 83, during Sulla's return to Rome from the Mithridatic war.

**fraude privata]** In fact the cause was never ascertained. It may have been done by some Italian enemy of Rome.

**quo tantae cladis pretio stetit?]** Note the rhythm, rather Juvenalian than Virgilian. The subject to *stetit* is 'the event, the conflagration: 'what peace worth such a disaster did it bring?'

**Pro patria bellavimus]** For the sentiment cf. i. 50. 4, 5.

**3 Voverat, etc.]** Liv. i. 38-*fin.*

**4 Servius Tullius]** It is assumed that the work must have been con-

bus, capta Suessa Pometia, hostium spoliis extruxere. Sed 5 gloria operis libertati reservata: pulsis regibus Horatius Pulvillus iterum consul dedicavit, ea magnificentia quam immensae postea populi Romani opes ornarent potius quam augerent. Isdem rursus vestigiis situm est, postquam, interjecto quad- 6 ringentorum quindecim annorum spatio, L. Scipione C. Norbano consulibus flagraverat. Curam victor Sulla suscepit, 7

tinued in such a prosperous reign: and, as the prosperity was for the most part peaceable, that it was the allies who aided in it. It is forgotten that if the (Latin) allies of Rome contributed to any Roman temple, it would naturally be the federal one, of the Aventine Diana. Livy in fact implies that the vow of Tarquinius was only fulfilled by his son: the great works of Servius' reign are the city walls and the Aventine temple already mentioned.

*capta . . . spoliis]* Liv. i. 53.  
2, 3.

**5 Horatius Pulvillus iterum consul]** Livy knows nothing of this second consulship, and assigns the dedication of the Capitol to his first, in the first year of the Republic: Dionysius agrees with Tacitus. The fact is, that the dedication of the capital by Horatius is the beginning of authentic Roman chronology, perhaps of consecutive Roman history: because the Fasti Capitolini, the annals of this temple from its dedication, were among the few public documents that survived the Gallic siege. The detailed lists of the consuls for the first two or three years are plainly an artificial reconstruction. The treaty with Carthage mentioned by Polybius (iii. 22. 1) makes Horatius the colleague instead of the successor of Brutus: if this treaty is genuine, as is probable, the inaccuracy of the common record is proved, and even if it be a forgery, dating from shortly before

the Third Punic War, it still shows how little certainty or consistency that record had yet attained. As to the four or five consuls assigned to the first year of the Republic, Livy himself acknowledges the discrepancy of his authorities.

*ea magnificentia, etc.]* An argument for accepting the traditional account so far as to suppose that the Capitol was substantially a work of the regal period, after which, whatever be the exact truth as to Porsenna's conquest, the wealth and power of Rome appear to have been considerably curtailed. Livy's account places the dedication the year before his attack; that followed by Tac., the year after; but, even if the latter be accepted, we might suppose that the building was already finished.

**6 Isdem rursus vestigiis]** So iv. 53. 1.

**quadringentorum quindecim]** So M. writes at full. But the common chronology makes the interval 425 years; and, whatever doubts there might be about details, or whatever were Tacitus' own precise views on the subject (see on i. 1. 1), the general outline was too well fixed to allow a difference of ten years. Either Tac. made a miscalculation, and never corrected it, or an archetype of M., meaning to write the number in figures instead of words, omitted one X.

**7 victor]** Perhaps, 'after his victory' at the Colline Gate, since

neque tamen dedicavit: hoc solum felicitati ejus negatum. Lutatii Catuli nomen inter tot Caesarum opera usque ad 73 Vitellium mansit. Ea tunc aedes cremabatur. Sed plus pavoris obsensis quam obsessoribus intulit. Quippe Vitellianus miles neque astu neque constantia inter dubia indigebat: ex diverso trepidi milites, dux segnis et velut captus animi, non lingua non auribus competere; neque alienis consiliis regi, neque sua expedire; huc illuc clamoribus hostium circumagi; quae jussusat, vetare, quae vetuerat, jubere. Mox (quod in perditis rebus accidit,) omnes praecipere, nemo 2 exsequi. Postremo, abjectis armis, fugam et fallendi artes circumspectabant. Inrumpunt Vitelliani et cuncta sanguine, ferro, flammisque miscent. Pauci militarium virorum, inter 3

the civil war at the time of the burning has been mentioned. Or there may be an allusion to his previous victories in the war with Mithridates; Pliny tells us that the columns employed in it were brought by him from the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens.

**hoc . . . negatum]** Almost a verbal transcript from Pliny (*H. N.* vii. 43. 44). Of course the allusion is to his self-chosen surname, Felix.

**usque ad Vitellium]** Yet Dio tells us that Catulus' name was erased by order of Caesar, and his own substituted. Tacitus here gives him the lie direct, and is doubtless right; it is idle to attempt to reconcile them. Martial, v. 10. 6, throws no light upon the subject; the probable reading is, *Catuli vilia tempa*, not *Julia*, and even the latter would naturally be understood in Tacitus' sense, that the name of Catulus was left amid the work of the Caesars.

**tot]** M. has *ta*, which Or. says is likelier to be an error for *tot* than for *tanta*. On this matter of palaeography his authority may be ad-

mitted; it is less easy to admit his argument that *tanta* would not meet the sense.

**cremabatur]** Returning to the narrative from his digression; 'this was the temple that was now on fire.' Hence in the next c.,

**CH. LXXIII. 1** **Sed** is not merely resumptive; the thought is, 'all Romans ought to have looked on such a conflagration with patriotic horror; now it was a matter of indifference to the besiegers, of selfish dread to the besieged.'

**non lingua non auribus competere]** So *Ann.* iii. 46. 1, *neque oculis neque auribus satis competebant*. Both seem to be suggested by Sall. *Hist.* i. c. 8, Fr. 95, *neque animo neque auribus aut lingua competere*. The sense of the clause is more clearly explained by the next; it is *not* that the talker (75. 1) had forgotten to talk, but he said nothing to the purpose, and did not attend to those who did.

**3 militarium virorum]** We hear nothing of Martialis' military services; he had been tribune in Nero's reign, and though not concerned in Piso's conspiracy, was

quos maxime insignes Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, Didius Scaeva, pugnam ausi obtruncantur. Flavium Sabinum inermem neque fugam coeptantem circum- 4 sistunt, et Quintium Atticum consulem, umbra honoris et suamet vanitate monstratum, quod edicta in populum, pro Vespasiano magnifica, probrosa adversus Vitellium jecerat. Ceteri per varios casus elapsi, quidam servili habitu, alii fide 5 clientium contecti et inter sarcinas abditi. Fuere qui, excepto Vitellianorum signo, quo inter se noscebantur, ultiro rogitantes 74 respondentesve audaciam pro latebra haberent. Domitianus prima inruptione apud aeditum occultatus, sollertia liberti lineo amictu turbae sacricolarum inmixtus ignoratusque, apud Cornelium Primum, paternum clientem, juxta Velabrum delituit. Ac potiente rerum patre disjecto aeditui contu- 2 bernio, modicum sacellum Jovi Conservatori aramque posuit casus suos in marmore expressam ; mox imperium adeptus

deprived of his office after it (*Ann.* xv. 71. 5), which suggests that he was a sober anti-imperialist. For Pacensis see above, i. 20. 5, 87. 2, ii. 12. 3. Niger is not improbably the centurion Casperius, who appears honourably in *Ann.* xii. 45 sq., xv. 5. 2 ; but Scaeva can hardly be the A. Didius who had commanded in Britain, and if not, is entirely unknown to us.

**4 umbra honoris**] He had the consular insignia about him.

**suamet vanitate, quod . . . jecerat**] He had tried to assume the position of a leading Flavian partisan by issuing (probably the day before the siege) a proclamation as consul in that interest, and had succeeded in getting men's eyes upon him.

**5 audaciam pro latebra**] Suggested by Sall. *Cat.* 58, *audacia pro muro*.

**Ch. LXXIV. lineo . . . sacricolarum**] Suetonius says he escaped in the disguise of a priest of

*Isis*. This agrees with Tac., as the Egyptian priests wore only linen ; Hdt. ii. 37, Ov. *Met.* i. 747, Juv. vi. 533.

**2 disjecto aeditui contubernio**] Perhaps there is some sarcasm here. The unprincipled bigot was full of gratitude to the god who had taken better care of him than of himself, but turned out of doors the man whose part in his deliverance was much less questionable. It would, however, have been so easy to compensate the *aeditus* for his loss that we cannot be sure it was not done. For *contubernium*, cf. i. 43. 2.

**Jovi Conservatori . . . Custodi**] Both titles are found in an inscription, and on coins of Domitian. The earlier seems to be meant as a translation of Ζεὺς Σώτηρ : cf. *Ann.* xv. 71. 3, *Conservatoris sibi nomen, Graeco ejus rei vocabulo, adsumpsit*. Cicero (*Verr.* II. ii. 63. 154) considered Σώτηρ untranslatable.

**casus suos . . . expressam**] A Graecism scarcely elsewhere found

Jovi Custodi templum ingens seque in sinu dei sacravit. Sabinus et Atticus, onerati catenis et ad Vitellium ducti, 3 nequaquam infesto sermone voltuque excipiuntur, frementibus qui jus caedis et praemia enavatae operaे petebant. Clamore a proximis orto, sordida pars plebis supplicium Sabini exposcit, minas adulatioñesque miscet. Stantem pro gradibus + Palatii Vitellium et preces parantem pervicere, ut absisteret. Tum confossum conlaceratumque et absciso capite truncum 75 corpus Sabini in Gemonias trahunt. Hic exitus viri haud sane spennendi. Quinque et triginta stipendia in republica fecerat, domi militiaeque clarus. Innocentiam justitiamque ejus non argueres; sermonis nimius erat: id unum septem annis quibus Moesiam, duodecim quibus praefecturam urbis obtinuit, calumniatus est rumor. In fine vitae alii segnem, 2 multi moderatum et civium sanguinis parcum credidere. Quod inter omnis constiterit, ante principatum Vespasiani decus domus penes Sabinum erat. Caedem ejus laetam fuisse Muciano accepimus. Ferebant plerique etiam paci 3 consultum, dirempta aemulatione inter duos, quorum alter se

in prose. It is in principle just like Virgil's *in scripti nomina regum Nascantur flores* (*Ecl. iii. 106*), and identical with Val. Fl. i. 398, *casusque tuos expressa, Phalere, Arma geris.*

3 ad V. *ducti*] Some (among extant writers only late ones) make Sabinus die in the fire.

*nequaquam . . . excipiuntur]*  
See on 70. 6.

Ch. LXXV. *in rep.*] 'In the public service,' perhaps opposed to the civil strife he died in.

*sermonis nimius]* Not exactly *loquax*, says Or., perhaps rightly. He makes it *rerum a se gestarum jactator*, which 70. 4 might be held to support; but it suits better the impression given by his conduct as a whole, and not least by that

speech, to understand it as something between these two, 'wordy, prosy,' and so pompous.

*calumniatus]* Not that it was false altogether, but that rumour is a common slanderer.

2 *In fine vitae*, etc.] His negotiations might *prima facie* deserve the praise suggested, but as they failed, some might say that was owing to his own clumsiness. His conduct in the siege *prima facie* deserved the censure; but some might say that it was no discredit to be unprepared for a civil war, nor to have avoided shedding blood after victory was hopeless.

*Quod inter omnes*, etc.] See on 65. 2.

3. *se . . . cogitaret]* 'Reflected that he was,' not in our sense,

fratrem imperatoris, alter consortem imperii cogitaret. Sed 4  
 Vitellius consulis supplicium poscenti populo restitit, placatus  
 ac velut vicem reddens, quod interrogantibus quis Capitolium  
 incendisset se reum Atticus obtulerat, eaque confessione, sive  
 aptum tempori mendacium fuit, invidiam crimenque agnovisse  
 et a partibus Vitellii amolitus videbatur.

76 Iisdem diebus L. Vitellius, positis apud Feroniam castris,  
 excidio Tarracinae imminebat, clausis illic gladiatoribus re-  
 migibusque, qui non egredi moenia neque periculum in aperto  
 audebant. Praeerat, ut supra memoravimus, Julianus gladia- 2  
 toribus, Apollinaris remigibus, lascivia socordiaque gladiorum  
 magis quam ducum similes. Non vigilias agere, non intuta  
 moenium firmare: noctu dieque fluxi et amoena litorum per-  
 sonantes, in ministerium luxus dispersis militibus, de bello  
 tantum inter convivia loquebantur. Paucos ante dies dis- 3  
 cesserat Apinius Tiro, donisque ac pecuniis acerbe per muni-  
 cipia conquirendis plus invidiae quam virium partibus addebat.

77 Interim ad L. Vitellium servus Verginii Capitonis perfugit,  
 pollicitusque, si praesidium acciperet, vacuam arcem tradi-  
 turum. Multa nocte cohortes expeditas summis montium  
 jugis super caput hostium sistit. Inde miles ad caedem magis 2  
 quam ad pugnam decurrit. Sternunt inermos aut arma  
 capientes, et quosdam somno excitos, cum tenebris, pavore,  
 sonitu tubarum, clamore hostili turbarentur. Pauci gladiorum 3  
 resistentes neque inulti cecidere. Ceteri ad naves ruebant, ubi  
 cuncta pari formidine implicabantur, permixtis paganis, quos  
 nullo discrimine Vitelliani trucidabant. Sex Liburnicae inter

‘thought himself.’ *Cogitaret* nearly  
 = *cogitaturus esset.*

4 *confessione*] The word im-  
 plies the truth of the story told,  
 hence opposed to *sive . . . mendac-  
 ium fuit*; so (whichever reading  
 be adopted) in i. 42. 2.

CH. LXXVI. *Feroniam*] The  
 sacred spring of the goddess was

three miles from Tarracina, Hor.  
*Sat.* i. 5. 24 *sq.*, and *supr.* 57. 2,  
 3, where also we hear of Tiro.

*personantes*] With the noise  
 (songs and other) of their festivity.  
 For the sort of site held suitable  
 for a Campanian picnic, see *Ann.*  
 iv. 59. 2.

CH. LXXVII. *vacuam*] As

primum tumultum evasere, in quis praefectus classis Apollinaris; reliquae in litore captae, aut nimio ruentium onere pressas mare hausit. Julianus, ad L. Vitellium perductus, <sup>4</sup> et verberibus foedatus, in ore ejus jugulatur. Fuere qui uxorem L. Vitellii Triariam incesserent, tamquam gladio militari cineta inter luctum cladesque expugnatae Tarracinae superbe saeveque egisset. Ipse lauream gestae prospere rei ad fratrem misit, percunctatus statim regredi se an perdomanda Campaniae insistere juberet. Quod salutare non <sup>5</sup> modo partibus Vespasiani sed reipublicae fuit. Nam si recens victoria miles, et super insitam pervicaciam secundis ferox, Romam contendisset, haud parva mole certatum nec sine exitio urbis foret. Quippe L. Vitellio, quamvis infami, inerat industria; nec virtutibus, ut boni, sed quomodo pessimus quisque, vitiis valebat.

78 Dum haec in partibus Vitellii geruntur, digressus Narnia Vespasiani exercitus festos Saturni dies Oriculi per otium agitabat. Causa tam pravae morae, ut Mucianum opperirentur. Nec defuere qui Antonium suspicionibus arguerent <sup>2</sup> tanquam dolo cunctantem, post secretas Vitellii epistolas, quibus consulatum et nubilem filiam et dotales opes pretium prodictionis offerebat. Alii facta haec et in gratiam Muciani <sup>3</sup> composita. Quidam omnium id ducum consilium fuisse,

it was habitually left unguarded. The men's quarters were beneath in the town.

<sup>4</sup> in ore ejus] So Cic. *Verr.* ii. ii. 33. 81, in ore atque in oculis provinciae; Sen. *de Bono*, vii. 19, si in ore parentum filios jugulat. In all these places the phrase seems to be more than merely 'in the presence,' as in English 'before his very face' would be; though here the audacity is in Vitellius' viewing the murder, not in the murderers facing him.

Triariam] ii. 63. 4.

tamquam] See on i. 48. 5.

lauream] I.q. litteras laureatas; Plin. *Pan.* 8, allata erat ex Pannonia laurea.

5 Quod] That he waited for orders, instead of acting on his own judgment.

recens victoria] The abl. without prep., as in 19. 2, ubi vide.

Cii. LXXVIII. festos S. dies] Dec. 17th and following.

3 Alii] The verb is to be supplied from arguerent.

ostentare potius urbi bellum quam inferre, quando validissimae cohortes a Vitellio descivissent, et, abscisis omnibus praesidiis, cessurus imperio videbatur. Sed cuncta festinatione, deinde + ignavia Sabini corrupta, qui, sumptis temere armis, munitissimam Capitolii arcem, et ne magnis quidem exercitibus expugnabilem, adversus tris cohortes tueri nequivisset. Haud facile quis uni adsignaverit culpam, quae omnium fuit. Nam 5 et Mucianus ambiguis epistolis victores morabatur, et Antonius praepostero obsequio, vel dum regerit invidiam, crimen meruit; ceterique duces, dum peractum bellum putant, finem ejus insignivere. Ne Petilius quidem Cerialis, cum mille equitibus 6 praemissus, ut transversis itineribus per agrum Sabinum Salaria via urbem introiret, satis maturaverat, donec obsessi

79 Capitolii fama cunctos simul exciret. Antonius per Flaminiam ad Saxa Rubra, multo jam noctis, serum auxilium venit. Illic interfectum Sabinum, conflagrâsse Capitolium, tremere urbem, maesta omnia accepit; plebem quoque et servitia pro Vitellio armari nuntiabatur. Et Petilio Ceriali equestre praelium 2

4 cuncta . . . corrupta] An acc., still giving the opinion of *quidam*, as is proved (if proof were needed) by the mood of *nequivisset*. For the *tris cohortes* see on 64. 2.

5 praepostero obsequio] 'By deference just in the wrong place ;' having defied all counsels of delay before, when haste was only justified by success, he delayed now, when promptitude was called for by circumstances unknown to Mucianus.

6 dum regerit invidiam] 'In an attempt to throw back on him the discredit' of any disaster that might occur,—to be able to say, 'So long as I managed my own way everything went well ; as soon as Mucianus interfered, I loyally obeyed him : but you see the result.' The special *invidia* of the burning of the Capitol cannot be

meant ; for Antonius did move as soon as he knew it was in danger.

ceteri . . . putant] Antonius was too good a soldier to be credited with a mere error of judgment : but the rest might.

finem ejus insignivere] 'Made its end notable' for the burning of the Capitol and battle in the city, which they might have prevented so easily.

6 Salaria via] 82. 3. It was so called, according to Pliny and Festus, as being the licensed highway for bringing salt (from Ostia) into the Sabine territory.

Ch. LXXIX. Saxa Rubra] Nine miles from Rome ; identified with the modern Prima Porta.

multo jam noctis] Equivalent to the more frequent *multa nocte*, cf. ad i. 62. 3.

plebem . . . nuntiabatur] It is exceptional to meet in Latin with

adversum fuerat. Namque incautum et tamquam ad victos ruentem Vitelliani, interjectus equiti pedes, excepere. Pug- 3 natum haud procul urbe, inter aedificia hortosque et anfractus viarum; quae, gnara Vitellianis, inconferta hostibus metum fecerant. Neque omnis eques concors, adjunctis quibusdam qui nuper apud Narniam dediti fortunam partium speculabantur. Capitur praefectus alae Tullius Flavianus; ceteri foeda fuga consternantur, non ultra Fidenas secutis victoribus.

SO Eo successu studia populi aucta; volgus urbanum arma cepit. Paucis scuta militaria; plures, raptis, quod cuique obvium, telis, signum pugnae exposcunt. Agit grates Vitellius, et ad tuendam urbem prorumpere jubet. Mox, vocato senatu, 2 diliguntur legati ad exercitus, ut praetexto reipublicae concordiam pacemque suaderent. Varia legatorum sors fuit. Qui 3 Petilio Ceriali occurserant, extremum discriben adiere, aspernante milite condiciones pacis. Volneratur praetor Arulenus Rusticus. Auxit invidiam, super violatum legati praetorisque

this (the usual English) constr. instead of the personal one; see iv. 52. 4, *Ann.* iv. 57. 4, *Germ.* 33. 1. These passages may be distinguished from i. 50. 1, 90. 2, *Ann.* ii. 69. 5, where *credebatur* is similarly used, because the use of *credor* with a personal subject is itself an irregularity, though a very natural one.

3 **gnara**] This passive sense is only found in Tac., always with a dat., *Ann.* i. 5. 4, *gnarum id Caesari*; 63. 3, *paludem gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis*; xv. 61. 3, *nullim agis gnarum quam Neroni*.

**apud Narniam dediti**] 63. 1.

**foeda fuga**] Livy would have said *in foedam fugam*.

**CH. LXXX. volgus urbanum**] It is more than doubtful if Ritter and Or. are right in distinguishing these from the *tribus* of 58. 3. Vitellius had ordered a civic levy on the ancient model, which belonged to a time when the people of the city

were citizens, and citizens lived in the city (or at least visited it on market days); he got such materials as the city population of his day supplied. Even here the sense of this and the next § is, that the show of republicanism was kept up. Did the Stoic Musonius believe in it?

**scuta militaria**] These were what made the decisive difference whether a man looked like a soldier or not. Encircling the body, the *scutum* made other defensive armour unnecessary, *Liv.* i. 43, *Scutum pro clipeo, ac praeter loricam omnia cadem*.

2 **reip.** has no reference to Vitellius' 'republican' attitude, but means only 'of the public *interest*,' see on i. 1. 2.

3 **Rusticus**] *Ann.* xvi. 26. 6, *Agr.* 2. 1. He was put to death by Domitian, and taunted on his trial by the accuser Regulus (Plin. *Ep.* i. 5) as *Vitelliana cicatrice stigmatosum*, alluding to this wound.

nomen, propria dignatio viri. Palantur comites, occiditur 4 proximus lictor, dimovere turbam ausus: et ni dato a duce praesidio defensi forent, sacrum etiam in exteris gentes legatorum jus ante ipsa patriae moenia civilis rabies usque in exitium temerasset. Aequioribus animis accepti sunt qui ad 5 Antonium venerant, non quia modestior miles, sed duci plus 81 auctoritatis. Miscuerat se legatis Musonius Rufus, equestris ordinis, studium philosophiae et placita Stoicorum aemulatus; coeptabatque permixtus manipulis, bona pacis ac belli discrimina disserens, armatos monere. Id plerisque ludibrio, pluribus 2 taedio; nec deerant qui propellerent procularentque, ni admonitu modestissimi cujusque, et aliis minitantibus, omisisset intempestivam sapientiam. Obviae fuere et virginis 3 Vestales cum epistolis Vitellii ad Antonium scriptis. Eximi supremo certamini unum diem postulabat: si moram interjecissent, facilius omnia conventura. Virginis cum honore 4 dimissae; Vitellio rescriptum, Sabini caede et incendio Capi- 82 tolii dirempta belli commercia. Tentavit tamen Antonius

4 comites] His suite.

proximus lictor] The Praetor, according to republican tradition, had six.

patriae] See on ii. 12. 4.

CH. LXXXI. **Musonius Rufus]** Tacitus was ashamed to be thought a Stoic (see *Agr.* 4. 4), as clever men in France, and perhaps elsewhere, are ashamed to be thought orthodox, and so he has no objection to laugh at a Stoic who lays himself open to ridicule. But Musonius was by no means a contemptible man; he was the master of Epictetus, and is coupled with Socrates by Justin Martyr, in his first *Apology*, as an example of persecuted virtue. He was a friend of Rubellius Plautus (*Ann.* xiv. 59. 2), and was banished by Nero (*ib.* xv. 71. 9), and, it is said, made to work as a convict on his Isthmian Canal.

Doubtless he returned on the fall of Nero. He was exempted by name from Vespasian's banishment of the philosophers, which seems to show that, like his great pupil, he abandoned political agitation for more spiritual objects. But the words of St. Justin (*I. c.*) may be understood to imply that he was put to death, perhaps by Domitian —Suidas wrongly says by Nero.

equestris ordinis] Yet we find him in the Senate a few days later, iv. 10. 1. He was a Tuscan, *Ann.* xiv. *I. c.*, and no doubt of an equestrian family.

2 plerisque . . . pluribus] So i. 39. 1. *Plerique* is similarly opposed to *plurimi* in iv. 84. 7, v. 2. 3. 3. 1.

4 dirempta belli commercia] The phrase does not seem to occur elsewhere, except Virg. *Aen.* x.

vocatas ad contionem legiones mitigare, ut, castris juxta pontem Mulvium positis, postera die urbem ingrederentur. Ratio cunctandi, ne asperatus praelio miles, non populo, non senatui, ne templis quidem ac delubris deorum consuleret. Sed omnem prolationem ut inimicam victoriae suspectabant. 2 Simul fulgentia per colles vexilla, quamquam inbellis populus sequeretur, speciem hostilis exercitus fecerant. Tripertito 3 agmine pars, ut adstiterat, Flaminia via, pars juxta ripam Tiberis incessit; tertium agmen per Salariam Collinae portae propinquabat. Plebs, invectis equitibus, fusa; miles Vitellianus trinis et ipse praesidiis occurrit. Praelia ante urbem 4 multa et varia, sed Flavianis, consilio ducum praestantibus, saepius prospera. Ii tantum conflictati sunt qui in partem sinistram urbis ad Sallustianos hortos, per angusta et lubrica viarum flexerant. Superstantes maceriis hortorum Vitelliani 5 ad serum usque diem saxis pilisque subeuntes arcebant, donec ab equitibus, qui porta Collina intruperant, circumvenirentur. Concurrere et in campo Martio infestae acies. Pro Flavianis 6 fortuna et parta totiens victoria: Vitelliani desperatione sola ruebant; et, quamquam pulsi, rursus in urbe congregabantur.

83 Aderat pugnantibus spectator populus, utque in ludicro certamine, hos, rursus illos clamore et plausu fovebat. Quotiens pars altera inclinasset, abditos in tabernis aut si quam in

532 sq., *Belli commercia Turnus Sustulit ista prior jam tum Pallante perempto.*

CH. LXXXII. 1 **Mulvium**] For the v. l. *Mulvi* see on ii. 89. 1.

3 **ut adstiterat**] 79. 1.

**per Salariam**] 78. 6, 79. 2, 3. Apparently Petilius' cavalry advanced again by the same way, and, being supported, and opposed to worse troops, had better success.

**trinis et ipse praesidiis**] 'Likewise in three divisions;' varied for variety's sake from *tripertito agmine*.

**4 conflictati**] 'Roughly handled;'

'beaten' implies too decisive a result, cf. 59. 3.

**Sallustianos hortos**] On the Pincian Hill, close to the Colline Gate —the scene of the severest fighting in all the three (83. 3) previous assaults upon the city. Now the attack of the cavalry on the gate was successful, but those who came from the main body by cross roads to support it were held in check.

6 **in campo Martio**] Which was skirted by the other two lines of assault.

CH. LXXXIII. 1 **hos, rursus illos**] So above, 22. 3.

domum perfugerant, erui jugularique expostulantes parte majore praedae potiebantur: nam, milite ad sanguinem et caedes obverso, spolia in volgus cedebant. Saeva ac deformis 2 urbe tota facies. Alibi praelia et vulnera, alibi balineae popinaeque; simul crux et strues corporum, juxta scorta et scortis similes; quantum in luxurioso otio libidinum, quidquid in acerbissima captivitate scelerum, prorsus ut eandem civitatem et furere crederes et lascivire. Confixerant ante armati 3 exercitus in urbe, bis Lucio Sulla, semel Cinna victoribus; nec tunc minus crudelitatis: nunc inhumana securitas, et ne minimo quidem temporis voluptates intermissae. Velut festis diebus id quoque gaudium accederet, exsultabant, fruebantur, nulla partium cura, malis publicis laeti.

84 Plurimum molis in obpugnatione castrorum fuit, quae acerrimus quisque ut novissimam spem retinebant. Eo intentius victores, praecipuo veterum cohortium studio, cuncta validissimarum urbium excidiis reperta simul admovent, testudinem, tormenta, aggeres, facesque, quidquid tot praeliis laboris ac periculi hausissent, opere illo consummari clamitantes. Urbem senatui ac populo Romano, templa dīs 2 reddita: proprium esse militis decus in castris. Illam patriam, illos penates. Ni statim recipientur, noctem in armis agendam. Contra Vitelliani, quamquam numero fatoque 3

*in volgus cedebant]* See, for a partially similar use of *cedere*, i. II. 4, 70. 4.

3 *Confixerant . . . victoribus]* On Sulla's recall from his command against Mithridates; on Cinna's revolt against the Senate and deposition by it; and on Sulla's return after the recovery of Greece and Asia, B.C. 88, 87, 82. On the last occasion, however, *in urbe* is an exaggeration; Sulla arrested the Marians and Samnites *ad urbem*.

*festis diebus]* 78. 1.

*fruebantur]* Here equivalent to

the English 'enjoy,' commonly used to translate it; in general it is 'to get the benefit of,' without any necessary implication of pleasure.

*nulla partium cura]* They enjoyed the fighting, not the victory of Vespasian.

CH. LXXXIV. *castrorum]* The great Praetorian camp, north-east of the city. The *old* Praetorians, disbanded by Vitellius, regard it as their own home. In the next § Tac. works out both the honourable and the dangerous side of the sense

dispares, inquietare victoriam, morari pacem, domos arasque cruento foedare, supraemis victis solatia amplectebantur. Multi semianimes super turres et propugnacula moenium exspiravere. Convolsis portis reliquus globus obtulit se victoribus; et cecidere omnes contrariis volneribus, versi in hostem: ea cura etiam morientibus decori exitus fuit. Vitellius, capta urbe, <sup>4</sup> per aversam Palatii partem Aventinum in domum uxoris sellula defertur, ut, si diem latebra vitavisset, Tarracinam ad cohortes fratremque perfugeret. Dein mobilitate ingenii, et (quae <sup>5</sup> natura pavoris est,) cum omnia metuenti praesentia maxime displicerent, in Palatium regreditur vastum desertumque, dilapsis etiam infimis servitorum aut occursum ejus declinantibus. Terret solitudo et tacentes loci; tentat clausa, inhore <sup>6</sup> rescit vacuis; fessusque misero errore, et pudenda latebra semet occultans, ab Julio Placido, tribuno cohortis, protra-

of military honour that supersedes civic patriotism.

**3 inquietare . . . morari . . . foedare]** The sentence begins as though these were meant for historical infinitives; actually they depend on *amplectebantur*, or rather are exegetical of *solatia*, as no Latin writer but Persius could have written *inquietare victoriam amplector*.

**semianimes . . . exspiravere]** They fell wounded on the ramparts, and were left to die.

**contraris volneribus]** Or. compares *contrario ictu* in Liv. ii. 6, and understands this passage as meaning, like that, that each killed his man before or as he fell. But it is probably in both places only a stronger expression for *adversis v.* (*Ann. xvi. 9. 5*, etc.) It is stupid to say that this makes *versi in hostem* redundant.

**4 capta urbe]** By the assault from the Campus Martius and the second defeat (82. 6) in the streets of the troops driven from thence. The remnants of these no doubt made

their way to join their comrades, as yet scarcely beaten, in the defence of the camp.

**Aventinum]** 70. 2.

**si diem latebra vitavisset]** Is *diem* the object to *vitavisset*, 'avoided the day-light by hiding,' or, an acc. of time, 'avoided (the enemy) through the daytime'? Of course it is wrong to assume, as some do, that it stands for *illum diem*, as though he had a superstitious notion that if he survived that day he was safe.

**5 mobilitate ingenii]** According to Suetonius, hearing a rumour that peace was made.

**6 tacentes loci]** *Aen. vi. 243.*

**pudenda latebra]** A room in the porter's lodge, used, according to Dio, as a dog-kennel. Tac. probably means the same, but thinks it below the dignity of history to mention the detail; or he may have thought it uncertain, as Suetonius makes him blockade the door with a sofa, which implies that the place was furnished for the abode of bipeds.

hitur. Vinctae pone tergum manus; laniata veste, foedum spec- 7  
 taculum, ducebatur, multis increpantibus, nullo inlacrimante: deformatas exitus misericordiam abstulerat. Obvius e Germanis militibus Vitellium infesto ictu, per iram, vel quo maturius ludibrio eximeret, an tribunum adpetierit, in incerto fuit: 85 aurem tribuni amputavit ac statim confossus est. Vitellium, infestis mucronibus coactum, modo erigere os et offerre contumelii, nunc cadentes statuas suas, plerumque Rostra aut Galbae occisi locum contueri, postremo ad Gemonias, ubi corpus Flavii Sabini jacuerat, propulere. Una vox non 2  
 degeneris animi excepta, cum tribuno insultanti se tamen imperatorem ejus fuisse respondit. Ac deinde ingestis vulneribus concidit. Et volgus eadem pravitate insectabatur 86 imperfectum, qua foverat viventem. Patria illi Lucezia. Septimum et quinquagesimum aetatis annum explebat. Consulatum, sacerdotia, nomen locumque inter primores nulla sua industria, sed cuncta patris claritudine adeptus. Principatum 2  
 ei detulere qui ipsum non noverant. Studia exercitus raro cuiquam bonis artibus quaesita perinde adfuere quam huic per ignaviam. Inerat tamen simplicitas ac liberalitas; quae, 3  
 ni adsit modus, in exitium vertuntur. Amicitias dum magni-

8 vel quo . . . eximeret] Dio makes him avow this motive, and kill himself after wounding Vitellius.

CH. LXXXV. os . . . offerre contumelii] See 31. 6.

**Rostra]** As reminding him that he had been *Princeps*, see on 68. 3, and notice that this does *not* remind the soldiers that he was their *Imperator*.

**Galbae occisi locum]** As showing him what he had to expect, not (see ii. 55. 2) to reproach him with his death, which indeed Otho's praetorians could not do.

CH. LXXXVI. **Lucezia**] Suet. *Vit.* 1 says *Nuceria*; M. is somewhat corrupt.

**Septimum et quinq.**] So Sue-

tonius; Dio makes him only fifty-four.

**explebat]** So i. 48. 1.

**patris claritudine]** See *Ann. vi.* 32. 6 for an admission of the elder L. Vitellius' merits. He was a man of no more principle than his neighbours, and too courtly for self-respect, but is not charged with many serious crimes.

**2 Principatum ei detulere** refers rather to the wire-pullers who gave him the nomination than to the *studia exercitus*.

**qui ipsum non noverant]** His popularity was due to affability of manners, i. 52. 3, which impressed men on their first acquaintance.

**3 simplicitas]** He trusted men

tudine munerum, non constantia morum contineri putat, meruit magis quam habuit. Reipublicae haud dubie intererat 4 Vitellium vinci: sed imputare perfidiam non possunt, qui Vitellium Vespasiano prodidere, cum a Galba descivissent.

Praecipiti in occasum die, ob pavorem magistratum sena- 5 torumque, qui dilapsi ex urbe aut per domos clientium semet occultabant, vocari senatus non potuit. Domitianum, postquam nihil hostile metuebatur, ad duces partium progressum et Caesarem consalutatum, miles frequens, utque erat in armis, in paternos penates deduxit.

generously, whether they deserved it or no; see on ii. 100. 1.

**contineri]** M. has *continere*: in no Latin writer but Tacitus could *continere futat* mean 'thinks to retain,' and it is unlikely, if not quite impossible, that it should be so used by him.

**meruit]** 'Earned' perhaps expresses the meaning more accurately than 'deserved'; it is however going too far to translate 'paid for,' like Burnouf and others, approved by Or. Or.'s reference to ii. 92. 3 is to the point, but Tac. means to

blame Vitellius' treacherous friends at least as much as Vitellius himself.

4 **Vespasiano . . . a Galba]** Cf. 7. 3. Tac. thinks the government of both Galba and Vespasian to have been tolerable, though not immaculate. Both had at any rate the same faults, ii. 95. 6 *fin.*

5 **Praecipiti . . . die]** Cf. Virg. *Aen.* ii. 8. 9, *Nox umida caelo Praecipitat*; still closer is Cic. *de Or.* iii. 55. 209, *Sol . . . ipse jam praecipitans me quoque haec praecipitem paene evolvere coegit.*

CORNELII TACITI  
HISTORIARUM  
LIBER QUARTUS.

I INTERFECTO Vitellio, bellum magis desierat quam pax cooperat. Armati per urbem victores in placibili odio victos consecabantur. Plenae caedibus viae, cruenta fora templaque. passim trucidatis, ut quemque fors obtulerat. Ac mox, auges- 2 cente licentia, scrutari ac protrahere abditos ; si quem procerum habitu et juventa conspexerant, obtruncare, nullo militum aut populi discrimine. Quae saevitia recentibus odiis sanguine explebatur, dein verterat in avaritiam. Nihil usquam secretum 3 aut clausum sinebant, Vitellianos occultari simulantes. Initium id perfringendarum domum, vel, si resisteretur, causa caedis ;

CH. I. Plenae . . . templaque]  
Cf. Virg. *Aen.* ii. 363 *sqq.*

ut quemque fors obtulit] So edd., while M. has *sors*. The two words are distinguished in Hor. *Sat.* I. i. 1, 2, and *Id. ib.* I. vi. 54, *nulla etenim tibi me fors obtulit*, is pointed to as showing which is the right word here. No doubt *fors* would be the more natural to any Latin writer but Tacitus : but it is a refinement not unlike him to say, 'as any might be exposed to them by his own fate,' instead of 'by (abstract) chance.'

2 procerum habitu et juventa]

A tall man, of military age, was presumably both a soldier and a German : while, as the civic population had made a show of fighting, they had an excuse for not sparing one who looked like a fighting man, even if he might possibly be a civilian.

Quae saevitia] The relative serves to continue the story : we are not to look for the antecedent in the subject to *verterat*. 'This cruelty while their passions were fresh was sated with blood, but later was found to be suddenly changed into avarice.'

nec deerat e gentissimus quisque e plebe et pessimi servitiorum prodere ulti dites dominos: alii ab amicis monstrabantur. Ubique lamenta, conclamations et fortunae captae urbis, adeo 4 ut Othoniani Vitellianique militis invidiosa antea petulantia desideraretur. Duces partium accendendo civili bello acres, 5 temperandae victoriae inparis: quippe in turbas et discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis; pax et quies bonis artibus indigent.

2 Nomen sedemque Caesaris Domitianus acceperat, nondum ad curas intentus, sed stupris et adulteriis filium principis agebat. Praefectura praetorii penes Arrium Varum, summa potentiae 2 in Primo Antonio. Is pecuniam familiamque e principis domo quasi Cremonensem praedam rapere. Ceteri modestia vel 3 ignobilitate ut in bello obscuri, ita praemiorum expertes. Civitas, pavida et servitio parata, occupari redeuntem Tarracina L. Vitellium cum cohortibus extinguique reliqua belli postulabat. Praemissi Ariciam equites; agmen legionum intra Bovillas 4 stetit. Nec cunctatus est Vitellius seque et cohortes arbitrio victoris permittere, et miles infelicia arma haud minus ira quam

3 deerat . . . prodere] i. 36. 3,  
iii. 58. 5, etc.

dites dominos] The adj. is doubtless an epithet to the subst., not co-ordinate with it: but the one is meant to balance *e gentissimus quisque e plebe*, and the other *pessimi servitiorum*.

4 conclamations] Probably almost in the technical sense, 'mourning for the dead,' though the actual funerals cannot yet have taken place. So Sen. *Clem.* i. 12.

fortunae] Various forms of fortune.

5 bonis artibus] Which none of the *duces partium* had, except Messala, iii. 9. 4; while Antonius and Hormus (at least) had the qualifications of *pessimus quisque*, *ib.* 28. 1.

Ch. II. sedem] The Palatine, going thither from his father's house, whither he was escorted on the night

of the victory, iii. extr.

nondum] Carelessness was not his fault as emperor.

sed . . . agebat answers in form to *acceperat*, *nondum . . . intentus*, in sense to the participle rather than to the verb. For the use of *agebat*, cf. i. 30. 2: for the remarks on Domitian's conduct, *Agr.* 7. 3, *Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, juvene admodum Domitiano, et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante*.

2 pecuniam familiamque] A common conjunction of words, as iii. 66. 3.

quasi Cremonensem praedam] With as much violence as though he were still plundering Cremona, with as much assurance as though the victory of Cremona gave him the right to it.

3 redeuntem Tarracina] See iii. 77. 4, 5.

metu abjecit. Longus deditorum ordo, septus armatis, per 5 urbem incessit, nemo supplici voltu, sed tristes et truces et adversum plausus ac lasciviam insultantis volgi inmobiles. Paucos erumpere ausos circumjecti pressere ; ceteri in cus- 6 todiam conditi, nihil quisquam locutus indignum, et, quamquam inter adversa, salva virtutis fama. Dein Lucius Vitellius inter- 7 ficitur, par vitiis fratris, in principatu ejus vigilantior, nec perinde 3 prosperis socius quam adversis abstractus. Iisdem diebus Lucilius Bassus cum expedito equite ad componendam Cam- paniam mittitur, discordibus municipiorum animis magis inter semet quam contumacia adversus principem. Viso milite quies ; et minoribus coloniis inpunitas. Capuae legio tertia 2 hiemandi causa locatur, et domus illustres afflictae, cum contra Tarracinenses nulla ope juvarentur. Tanto proclivius est injuriae quam beneficio vicem exsolvere, quia gratia oneri, ultio in quaestu habetur. Solatio fuit servus Verginii Capitonis, 3 quem proditorem Tarracinensium diximus, patibulo adfixus in isdem anulis quos, acceptos a Vitellio, gestabat. At Romae + senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit, laetus et

6 *pressere*] I.q. *oppressere*, as *Ann. xvi. 9. 4, premi a militibus jubet*. In both places it clearly means that they were killed.

7 *nec perinde . . . abstractus*] ‘Having not so much shared his success as been ruined by his fall.’ For the use of the last word, compare *Ann. iv. 13. 5, paternis adversis foret abstractus*.

CH. III. *Bassus*] ii. 100. 4, etc.  
discordibus . . . animis] iii. 57. 2.

magis] Not really out of place : *contumacia* is made to depend on *discordibus animis* instead of being (as it naturally would be) co-ordinate with it, because Tac. wishes to avoid the formal symmetry of the clauses *magis inter se discordia quam cont. adv. pr.*, or *animis magis in-*

*ter se discordibus quam contumaci- bus*.

2 *Capuae*] Which was faithful to Vitellius, iii. 57. 2 : while Tarracina had stood an assault and massacre from Lucius’ troops, iii. 76 sq.

injuriae quam beneficio] The datives almost amount to a personification ; at any rate they must be translated as abstract rather than concrete terms.

3 *diximus*] iii. 77. 1.  
anulis] As ii. 57. 4, cf. *ibid.* 3.

4 *cuncta principibus solita*] So i. 47. 2, ii. 55. 3. Here there does not appear to be, as in the second passage, a sneer at the facility with which they accepted each new usurper, but rather a record of the form in which the decree was cast : as a law (preserved in an official inscrip-

spei certus, quippe sumpta per Gallias Hispaniasque civilia arma, motis ad bellum Germanis, mox Illyrico, postquam Aegyptum, Judaeam, Syriamque et omnes provincias exercitusque lustraverant, velut expiato terrarum orbe, cepisse finem videbantur. Addidere alacritatem Vespasiani litterae, tamquam manente 5 bello scriptae. Ea prima specie forma: ceterum ut princeps loquebatur, civilia de se et reipublicae egregia. Nec senatus obsequium deerat: ipsi consulatus cum Tito filio, praetura 4 Domitiano et consulaire imperium decernuntur. Miserat et Mucianus epistolas ad senatum, quae materiam sermonibus praebuere. Si privatus esset, cur publice loqueretur? Potuisse eadem paucos post dies loco sententiae dici. Ipsa quoque 2 insectatio in Vitellium sera et sine libertate. Id vero erga

tion, whose genuineness has been questioned, but is generally admitted) in accordance with this decree of the Senate, provides that Vespasian should have the same rights and privileges as Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius. Gaius and Nero had claimed powers and titles which could not be allowed as precedents: Galba, Otho, and Vitellius had had too short reigns to put their powers in ure, and perhaps were considered to have disputable right to such powers as they had exercised.

**per Gallias Hispaniasque]** By Vindex and Galba; the Germans were called out by Vitellius (and perhaps Verginius), Illyricum by the Othonians, and again by Antonius and his colleagues; and Egypt, Judaea, and Syria, of course, by Vespasian and Mucianus.

**expiato]** Every part having sinned equally and suffered equally.

**5 Ea prima specie forma]** 'That (viz., that he supposed that the Senate would receive the despatch before the war's end) was the impression it gave at first sight: but on studying the terms, it appeared

that he took for granted his ultimate victory and the Senate's indorsement of his title. (He wrote, no doubt, on hearing of the victory at Cremona.) Then, though he dated his reign from his proclamation by the troops (ii. 79. 2), not from the Senate's indorsement, his tone towards them was what that of an emperor, when once made, ought to be; while as he did not write like a man waiting on fortune, they hoped that his constitutional temper was likely to be permanent.

**senatus obsequium]** Complaisance on the Senate's part towards him: *civiliter* includes of itself, that he exhibited due deference to the Senate.

**praetura]** Titularly the city Praetorship, says Suetonius: but he left the judicial functions to the second Praetor on the list. Can this be reconciled with Tacitus' statement below, 39. 2?

**Ch. IV. cur publice loquetur?]** Cf. ii. 55. 4.

**loco sententiae]** When called on to speak in his turn in the Senate.

**2 sine libertate]** 'Illiberal,' 'ungenerous.' There was no *libertas*,

republicam superbum, erga principem contumeliosum, quod in manu sua fuisse imperium donatumque Vespasiano jactabat. Ceterum invidia in occulto, adulatio in aperto erant. Multo 3 cum honore verborum Muciano triumphalia de bello civium data: sed in Sarmatas expeditio fingebatur. Adduntur Primo Antonio consularia, Cornelio Fusco et Arrio Varo praetoria insignia. Mox deos respexere; restitui Capitolium placuit. 4 Eaque omnia Valerius Asiaticus, consul designatus, censuit: ceteri voltu manuque, pauci, quibus conspicua dignitas aut ingenium adulatione exercitum, compositis orationibus adsentiebantur. Ubi ad Helvidium Priscum, praetorem designatum, ventum, prompsit sententiam ut honorificam in bonum principem, falsa aberant, et studiis senatus attollebatur. Isque praecipuus illi dies magnae offensae initium et magnae gloriae fuit. 5

in the moral sense of courageous free-speaking, in assailing a fallen enemy, and so it was the reverse of *liberale* to do so.

3 **de bello civium**] We have the same phrase below, 72. 3, for the commoner *bellum civile*: doubtless it is only the fact that that phrase is commoner, that made M. write *civilium*. In the earlier civil wars, the principle that they afforded no triumphs (Lucan, i. 12) had been evaded with more plausibility than now: because the victories of Thapsus, perhaps of Munda, and certainly of Actium, had been gained not over a domestic enemy only, but his foreign allies. Here the Sarmatian expedition (the events of iii. 46 interpreted in the light of those of i. 79) was so slight an affair that the pretext was transparent.

4 **Mox**] After more important persons, such as emperors, courtiers, and military adventurers, had all received their due.

**Asiaticus, consul designatus**] The *consul designatus* was, according

to republican precedent, always first asked for his *sententia*. Asiaticus was moreover anxious to make himself prominent in the acceptance of Vespasian, lest he should be deprived of his office as a partisan and son-in-law of Vitellius, i. 59. 4

**manu**] Here, coupled with *voltu*, it seems most natural to understand this of clapping: sometimes however it is clearly of voting by show of hands, as distinguished from *pedibus* (division) and *voce* (speech).

5 **ut honorificam . . . falsa aberant**] A harsh variation of the construction *ut honorificam . . . ita a qua falsa aberant*. But it seems needless to assume a *lacuna*.

**praecipuus**] Virtually an adv.

**magnae offensae**] He did avoid extravagance in compliment to Vespasian, and, we must suppose, was reported to him as having spoken in a disaffected tone. It is generally held, from our scanty notices, that it was only by studiously offensive language that he provoked Vespasian into ordering his exile and death.

5 Res poscere videtur, quia iterum in mentionem incidimus viri saepius memorandi, ut vitam studiaque ejus, et quali fortuna sit usus, paucis repetam. Helvidius Priscus <sup>2</sup> tregione Italiae, Carecinae municipio, Cluvio patre, qui ordinem primipili duxisset, <sup>†</sup> ingenium inlustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut plerique, *ut* nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita rempublicam capesseret. Doctores sapientiae secutus est qui sola bona <sup>3</sup> quae honesta, mala tantum quae turpia, potentiam, nobilitatem, ceteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque malis

CH. V. *iterum*] The former mention being ii. 91. 4.

**saeplus**] After this day's debate, we hear of him again in the Senate, 43. 1, and at the restoration of the Capitol, 53. 3. But the chief reference is doubtless to the account of his quarrel with the emperor, which must have been related in the lost books.

<sup>2</sup> **regione Italiae, Carecinae municipio**] Geographers mention a Samnite tribe, the Caraceni, Cari-cini, or Carcini, about Aufidena: their territory might be called *Carecina*, and described by a correct gloss as a *regio Italiae*, but not by Tacitus himself as a *municipium*. The correction *Tarracina municipio* is improbable—no copyist would have substituted the obscure name Carecina for one which has occurred so often in the last few chapters. It is probable that *regione Italiae* is an interpolation, and certain that there is some corruption of the text.

**Cluvio patre**] M. has *Cluvios*, which perhaps lends a little support to the conjecture that the name of the *municipium* is disguised under this word. But it is of course possible that Helvidius may have been the son of a Cluvius (perhaps a relation of the celebrated Rufus, whom the son admired, 43. 1), and

have owed the name he is known by to his adoption by the *legatus legionis* of *Ann.* xii. 49. 3; if that had been his own father, we could not have heard of the *ordo primipili* here, as his highest distinction.

**duxisset**] No good reason can be assigned for the conjunctive, and probably the corruption of the text extends as far as this word.

**ut plerique**] Compare the view of philosophy taken by Agricola in his mature years, *Agr.* 4. 4, 5. It was the old traditional Roman view (*ENN.* *ap.* *Cic.* *Tusc.*, *init.*), and indeed older than the introduction of philosophy at Rome (*Plat. Rep.* vi. p. 487), that devotion to philosophy implied incapacity or distaste for the duties of practical life; the Roman Stoics of this age had not yet worked themselves clear from the imputation.

<sup>3</sup> **sapientiae**] A technical term, as a translation of *σοφία* (*ENN.* *Ann.* i. 15), but in practice used rather as equivalent to *φιλοσοφία*.

**sola . . . tantum**] Notice the arbitrary and merely verbal variation.

**neque bonis neque malis**] Tacitus' purity of language is too scrupulous to use, as Seneca had done, *indifferens* as a translation of *άνιδιφορος*.

adnumerant. Quaestorius adhuc, a Paeto Thrasea gener 4 delectus, e moribus socii nihil aequa ac libertatem hausit, civis, senator, maritus, gener, amicus, cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus 6 metus. Erant quibus adpetentior famae videretur, quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur. Ruina socii in exsilium pulsus, ut Galbae principatu rediit, Marcellum Eprium, delatorem Thraseae, accusare adgreditur. Ea 2 ultio, incertum major an justior, senatum in studia diduxerat: nam si caderet Marcellus, agmen reorum sternebatur. Primo minax certamen, et egregiis utriusque orationibus testatum. Mox dubia voluntate Galbae, multis senatorum deprecantibus, 3 omisit Priscus, variis, ut sunt hominum ingenia, sermonibus moderationem laudantium aut constantiam requirentium.

Ceterum eo senatus die quo de imperio Vespasiani cense- 4 bant, placuerat mitti ad principem legatos. Hinc inter Helvidium et Eprium acre jurgium. Priscus eligi nominatim a magistratibus juratis, Marcellus urnam postulabat; quae 7 consulis designati sententia fuerat. Sed Marcelli studium proprius rubor excitabat, ne, aliis electis, posthabitus crederetur.

4 **Quaestorius**] He was (according to the Scholiast on Juvenal), Quaestor of Achaia in Nero's time.

**gener delectus**] See on i. 3. 1. Thrasea's daughter's name was Fannia; she was Priscus' second wife.

**aequabilis**] 'Consistent,' almost in the half-technical sense of modern religious ethics.

**recti pervicax**] An oxymoron, the adjective being generally used in a bad sense; perhaps it may be implied that some censured his obstinacy, while Tacitus defends it.

**Ch. VI. cupidus . . . exuitur**] A philosophical commonplace, or rather proverb, traditionally ascribed to Plato.

**Ruina . . . pulsus**] See *Ann. xvi. 21-29, 33. 3.*

2 **major an justior**] Whether the scale of the task or the justice of its grounds were greater.

**egregiis . . . testatum**] 'To which splendid speeches of both parties still bear witness.' But in Latin the construction is put in a form which avoids everything like personification.

3 **constantiam requirentium**] Not only 'complaining of his want of resolution,' but 'of his not showing the resolution *they expected of him*.'

4 **eo senatus die, etc.**] It is strange that any one should have doubted that this means the day when the resolution of 3. 4 was passed.

**consulis designati**] 4. 4.

Paulatimque per altercationem ad continuas et infestas orationes provecti sunt, quaerente Helvidio quid ita Marcellus judicium magistratum pavesceret: esse illi pecuniam et eloquentiam, quis multos anteiret, ni memoria flagitorum urgueretur. Sorte et urna mores non discerni: suffragia et 2 existimationem senatus reperta, ut in cuiusque vitam famamque penetrarent. Pertinere ad utilitatem reipublicae, pertinere ad Vespasiani honorem, occurrere illi quos innocentissimos senatus, habeat, qui honestis sermonibus aures imperatoris inbuant. Fuisse Vespasiano amicitiam cum Thrasea, Sorano, 3 Sentio; quorum accusatores, etiamsi puniri non oporteat, ostentari non debere. Hoc senatus judicio velut admoneri principem quos probet, quos reformidet. Nullum majus boni 4 imperii instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse. Satis Marcello quod Neronem in exitium tot innocentium inpulerit: frueretur praemii et inpunitate, Vespasianum melioribus 8 relinquenter. Marcellus non suam sententiam inpugnari, sed consulem designatum censuisse dicebat, secundum vetera exempla, quae sortem legationibus posuissent, ne ambitioni aut inimicitii locus foret. Nihil evenisse cur antiquitus insti- 2

CH. VII. altercationem] 'A debate,' in short, sharp replies,—speeches not necessarily *infestae*, but opposed to *continuae* as here, or *perpetuae* as Cic. *ad Att.* i. 16. 8.

2 reperta] Probably implies that there were precedents for the course he proposed, though the other was clearly that of ordinary routine.

inbuant] Give him his first impressions.

3 Sorano] Condemned at the same time as Thrasea, see *Ann.* xvi. 21 *sqq.* Sentius was perhaps put to death in the two last years of Nero, of which Tacitus' record is lost; nothing is known of him: Ritter conjectures *Anteio*, from *Ann.* xvi. 14.

4 instrumentum] Nothing is so necessary to equip a man for the

career of a good emperor. The word has the same meaning in i. 22. 2.

amicos] Like 'favourite' in the sixteenth century, approximated to the sense of 'ministers.' See i. 49. 6, ii. 91. 5.

inpulerit] An overstatement of Marcellus' share in the prosecution of Thrasea at any rate. Cossutianus had instituted the prosecution and engaged Nero's favour for it.

CH. VIII. non suam sententiam inpugnari, sed consulem designatum censuisse] That the object of Priscus' attack was not his speech or vote (*sententia* was both), but the constitutional motion of Asiaticus.

vetera exempla] e.g. Cic. *ad Att.*

tuta exolescerent, aut principis honor in cuiusquam contumeliam verteretur; sufficere omnes obsequio. Id magis vitandum, ne pervicacia quorumdam inritaretur animus novo principatu suspensus, et voltus quoque ac sermones omnium circumspectans. Se meminisse temporum quibus natus sit, quam 3 civitatis formam patres avique instituerint; ulteriora mirari, praesentia sequi; bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescunque tolerare. Non magis sua oratione Thraseam quam 4 judicio senatus afflictum: saevitiam Neronis per ejusmodi imagines inlusisse, nec minus sibi anxiam talem amicitiam quam aliis exsiliis. Denique constantia, fortitudine, Catoni-5 bus et Brutis aequaretur Helvidius: se unum esse ex illo senatu qui simul servierit. Suadere etiam Prisco ne supra principem scanderet, ne Vespasianum senem triumphalem, juvenum liberorum patrem, praeceptis coerceret. Quomodo 6

i. 19. 2, 3; which, however, is not a very relevant precedent, since the Senate refused to abide by the result of the lot.

2 **sufficere omnes obsequio**] Anybody was competent for a mere service of courtesy.

3 **patres avique**] 'The last two generations,' the century since the establishment of the empire, or perhaps rather the fifty-eight years since it was avowed to be a permanent, not a personal, office, by the association of Tiberius with Augustus. *Patres* is never, and *avi* never in prose, used in the general sense of 'forefathers'; here, moreover, it is limited to the literal sense by apposition to *ulteriora*.

4 **Non magis . . . afflictum**] 'His speech was no more the real cause of Thrasea's ruin than was the judgment of the Senate; both were masks under which Nero's cruelty disported itself;' he gives up Thrasea's death as indefensible, but extenuates his own share in it.

**aliis**] He means to Helvidius

himself. He had saved his life and residence at Rome by taking part in Thrasea's death; Helvidius' life had been spared, and being away from Rome he had a better chance that it would continue to be.

5 **Catonibus et Brutis**] For the sentiment cf. Juv. iv. 74. The conciliatory policy of Augustus had left it open to any one to make a hero of Cato, or even Pompey, and a generation or two later Brutus might be conceived as likewise a hero of the republic, instead of a traitor to the empire. But we should want more proof than the *obiter dictum* of Juvenal (v. 36) to establish that not only Helvidius, but his moderate and sensible father-in-law, were accustomed to keep solemn festivals in honour of the tyrannicides.

**unum**] See on iii. 70. 5.

**servierit**] The perfect is retained from the *oratio recta*.

**scanderet**] Scarcely used elsewhere, says Orelli, in this metaphorical sense.

pessimis imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ita quanvis egregiis modum libertatis placere. Haec, magnis utrimque contentionibus jactata, diversis studiis accipiebantur. Vicit 7 pars quae sortiri legatos malebat, etiam mediis patrum adnientibus retinere morem. Et splendidissimus quisque eodem inclinabat, metu invidiae, si ipsi eligerentur.

9 Secutum aliud certamen. Praetores aerarii, (nam tum a praetoribus tractabatur aerarium,) publicam paupertatem questi, modum impensis postulaverant. Eam curam consul designatus, ob magnitudinem oneris et remedii difficultatem, principi reservabat: Helvidius arbitrio senatus agendum censuit. Cum perrogarent sententias consules, Volcatius Tertullinus, 2 tribunus plebis, intercessit, ne quid super tanta re, principe absente, statueretur. Censuerat Helvidius ut Capitolium 3 publice restitueretur, adjuvaret Vespasianus. Eam sententiam modestissimus quisque silentio, deinde oblivio transmisit: 10 fuere qui et meminissent. Tum invectus est Musonius Rufus in Publum Celerem, a quo Baream Soranum falso testimonio circumventum arguebat. Ea cognitione renovari odia accusa-

6 modum] Cf. i. 85. 1.

7 mediis] 'Moderate ;' cf. Liv. x. 26. 1, *median orationem habuit, ut nec angere nec minuere videbatur belli famam.* In Cic. *ad Att.* x. 8. 4, *medios esse jam non licebit*, the usage is similar, though there 'neutral' would be a better translation: in Thuc. iii. 82. 19, *τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν*, 'the middle class' and 'the moderate party' seem to coincide.

CH. IX. *tum a praetoribus tractabatur aerarium*] See *Ann. xii. i. 28. 5*; *ibid. c. 29*, gives an account of the successive changes from quaestors to praetors and back again. The form of sentence here seems to imply that there had been another change when Tacitus wrote under Trajan.

2 *perrogarent*] 'Were going on to complete taking the votes ;' cf.

Liv. xxix. 19, *perrogari eo die sententiae . . . non potuere.*

*intercessit*] The right was probably seldom exercised, but protected by the *tribunicia potestas* of the emperor. See ii. 91. 4, also *Ann. xvi. 26. 6*.

3 *fuere qui et meminissent*] It was by this *sententia* that he unmistakably showed he meant to retain the character of an opposition speaker even under the new dynasty; his earlier one the same day (4, 5) had not gone beyond the limits of manly independence.

CH. X. *Baream*] See *Ann. xvi. 32. 2*, etc., *Juv. iii. 116*.

*Ea cognitione . . . videbantur*] An argument against the propriety of Musonius' conduct. It was better to let the old *odia* be forgotten, but the next § says, when Celer's con-

tionum videbantur. Sed vilis et nocens reus protegi non 2 poterat: quippe Sorani sancta memoria; Celer professus sapientiam, dein testis in Baream, proditor corruptorque amicitiae, cuius se magistrum ferebat. Proximus dies causae 3 destinatur. Nec tam Musonius aut Publius quam Priscus et Marcellus ceterique, motis ad ultionem animis, exspectabantur.

II Tali rerum statu, cum discordia inter patres, ira apud victos, nulla in victoribus auctoritas, non leges, non princeps in civitate essent, Mucianus, urbem ingressus, cuncta simul in se traxit. Fracta Primi Antonii Varique Arrii potentia, male dissimulata in eos Muciani iracundia, quamvis voltu tegeretur. Sed civitas, rimandis offensis sagax, verterat se transtuleratque. 2 Ille unus ambiri, coli. Nec deerat ipse, stipatus armatis, domos hortosque permutans, apparatu, incessu, excubiis, vim principis amplecti, nomen remittere. Plurimum terroris intulit 3 caedes Calpurnii Galeriani. Is fuit filius Gai Pisonis, nihil ausus: sed nomen insigne et decora ipsi juventa rumore volgi celebrabantur, erantque in civitate adhuc turbida et novis sermonibus laeta qui principatus inanem ei famam circumdarent. Jussu Muciani custodia militari cinctus, ne in ipsa 4 urbe conspectior mors foret, ad quadragesimum ab urbe lapidem, Appia via, fuso per venas sanguine exstinguitur. Julius 5

duct was not forgotten it could not but be condemned.

2 *amicitiae . . . ferebat*] Friendship having, from Aristotle's time at least, a recognised place in all systems of moral philosophy.

3 *Proximus*] The next day that the senate sat, 40. 4—clearly not the actual morrow.

CH. XI. *cuncta simul in se traxit*] 'Concentrated in himself the claims of all;' of *victores, leges, and princeps*.

2 *verterat*] As soon as Mucianus arrived the change was complete.

*deerat*] As above, I. 3, etc. The

construction is rare except in Tacitus, but see Prop. i. 16. 7, *et mihi non desunt turpes pendere corollae*.

*amplecti*] 'To engross.' The most similar use quoted is Cic. *pro Flacco*, 18. 43, *cum rem publicam nimium amplecteretur*.

3 *Gai Pisonis*] The candidate put forward for empire in the great conspiracy of Nero's reign, *Ann. xv. 48. 1*, etc. Galerianus was perhaps an adopted son, at least the name is difficult to account for otherwise, as Piso never had any wife but Livia Orestilla. Moreover he was (49. 4) related by blood to the Pisos in

Priscus, praetorianum sub Vitellio cohortium praefectus, se ipse interfecit, pudore magis quam necessitate. Alfenius Varus ignaviae infamiaeque suae superfuit. Asiaticus enim (is libertus,) malam potentiam servili suppicio expiavit.

12 Isdem diebus crebrescentem cladis Germanicae famam nequaquam maesta civitas excipiebat; caesos exercitus, capta legionum hiberna, descivisse Gallias, non ut mala loquebantur. Id bellum quibus causis ortum, quanto externarum sociarumque gentium motu flagraverit, altius expediam. Batavi donec 2 trans Rhenum agebant, pars Chattorum, seditione domestica pulsi, extrema Gallicae orae, vacua cultoribus, simulque insulam juxta sitam occupavere, quam mare Oceanum a fronte, Rhenus amnis tergum ac latera circumluit; nec opibus Romanis, societate validiorum, adtriti viros tantum armaque imperio ministrant, diu Germanicis bellis exerciti, mox aucta per Britanniam gloria, transmissis illuc cohortibus, quas vetere instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant. Erat et domi 3 delectus eques, praecipuo nandi studio, arma equosque

a female line—presumably therefore not in the male.

5 *Priscus . . . Varus*] ii. 92. 1, iii. 36. 4, etc.

*is libertus*] Put in to distinguish the freedman of ii. 57. 3, etc., from the noble Valerius. Some would read *is enim 1.*, but with the ms. order *enim* is intelligible: 'I tell you the fate of the noble or prominent Vitellians,—for the prominent but ignoble one had such fate as became his condition.'

*servilli suppicio*] So Icelus, i. 46. 8.

CH. XII. *nequaquam maesta*] Anything was good news that promised to draw off the army from Rome.

2 *Batavi . . . pars Chattorum*] *Germ.* 29. 1. They already occupied the island in Caesar's time, *B. G.* iv. 10. The name is pronounced *Batāvus* in *Juv.* viii. 51, *Sil. Pun.*

iii. 608: *Lucan* i. 431, and some later poets, make the penult short.

*juxta sitam*] An older correction was *inter vada sitam*, but that of the text is less remote from the corrupt reading of M.

*Rhenus amnis*, etc.] See *Ann.* ii. 6. 5 for a more detailed account of the delta of the Rhine. The names are still the same as there described, but the 'Old Rhine' is now an inconsiderable stream, in comparison not only with the Waal or Maas, but with the Yssel—which it seems did not communicate with the Rhine before the canal of Drusus was opened.

*viros tantum armaque*] 17. 4, v. 25. 4, *Germ.* 29. 2.

3 *Erat*] M. has *erant*, taking *eques* to have the plural as a noun of multitude.

*praecipuo . . . perrumpere*] 'Who practised swimming zealously,

I 3 retinens, integris turmis Rhenum perrumpere. Julius Paulus et Claudius Civilis, regia stirpe, multo ceteros anteibant. Paulum Fonteius Capito falso rebellionis crimine interfecit. Injectae Civili catenae, missusque ad Neronem et a Galba absolutus sub Vitellio rursus discrimen adit, flagitante supplicium ejus exercitu. Inde causae irarum, spesque ex malis nostris. Sed Civilis ultra quam barbaris solitum ingenio 2 sollers, et Sertorium se aut Hannibalem ferens simili oris dehonestamento, ne ut hosti obviam iretur, si a populo Romano palam descivisset, Vespasiani amicitiam studiumque partium praetendit, missis sane ad eum Primi Antonii literis, quibus avertere accita Vitellio auxilia et tumultus Germanici specie retentare legiones jubebatur. Eadem Hordeonius Flacus praesens monuerat, inclinato in Vespasianum animo et reipublicae cura, cui excidium adventabat, si redintegratum I 4 bellum et tot armatorum milia Italiam inrupissent. Igitur Civilis, desciscendi certus, occultato interim altiore consilio, cetera ex eventu judicaturus, novare res hoc modo coepit :

to force the barrier of the Rhine without letting go their horses and arms or breaking their ranks.' This seems to be the sense, the inf. depending on *praecipuo studio*, though such a construction is most extraordinary. Even one like *Virg. Ecl. v. 1. 2, boni . . . Tu calamos inflare leves, ego dicere versus*, would be eccentric in prose ; here the inf. has not even an adjective to depend on. It may be called a Grecism, but even in Greek the epexegetical inf. could hardly be used so loosely.

CH. XIII. Julius Paulus et Claudius Civilis] They were brothers (32. 4), so that Tacitus must write advisedly in distinguishing their Gentile names. But in i. 59. 1 Civilis has been called Julius, as he is by Plutarch and others.

2 Sertorium . . . Hannibalem] See Sall. *Hist. i. 5. fr. 62*, Plut.

*Sert. 1*, for the loss of an eye by the former, *Liv. xxii. 2 fin.* for the latter. The word *dehonestamento* is used by Sallust, *l. c.*

*sane*] Not without partial truth, for *Primus* had written to him.

*tumultus Germanici*] The word is used with a reminiscence of the technical phrase *tumultus Gallicus*.

3 *redintegratum*] Virtually a plu.-pf. subj. co-ordinate with *inrupissent*. The choice of the word is determined by Tacitus' knowledge of the subsequent history. The war in Italy had not yet been decided (31. 1), but it would have been before the armies of Germany could have arrived, so that they would have intervened not to terminate it but to renew it. Flaccus, favouring Vespasian, took for granted that he would be victorious if left alone.

jussu Vitellii Batavorum *juventus* ad *delectum* vocabatur, quem, suapte natura *gravem*, onerabant ministri avaritia ac luxu, senes aut invalidos conquirendo, quos pretio dimitterent. Rursus inpubes sed forma *conspicui* (et est plerisque *procera* 2 *pueritia*,) ad stuprum trahebantur. Hinc *invidia*; et *compositae seditionis* auctores perpulere ut *delectum* abnuerent. Civilis primores gentis et promptissimos volgi, specie *epularum* 3 *sacrum* in nemus vocatos, ubi nocte ac *laetitia* incaluisse videt, a laude gloriaque gentis orsus *injurias* et *raptus* et cetera servitii mala enumerat. 'Neque enim *societatem*, ut olim, 4 sed tamquam *mancipia* haberi. Quando *legatum*, gravi quidem comitatu et superbo cum imperio, venire? Tradi se *praefectis centurionibusque*; quos ubi spoliis et sanguine expleverint, mutari, exquirique novos sinus et varia *praedandi* vocabula. Instare *delectum*, quo liberi a parentibus, fratres 5 a fratribus velut supremum dividantur. Nunquam magis afflictam rem Romanam, nec aliud in hibernis quam *praedam*

CII. XIV. jussu Vitellii] ii.  
97. I.

**gravem, onerabant]** A transitional use to that in ii. 52. 3, etc., where *onero* has no more conscious metaphor than the English 'aggravate.'

**2 et est . . . pueritia]** So that they reached a presentable military stature before the proper military age. Also *procera* may be considered an element of *forma*, see *Germ.* 20. 3.

**compositae]** M. has *compositi*, which may be right, as *componere seditionem* commonly means not 'to get up an insurrection,' but to put it down. With either reading, the word suggests a contrast between the genuine popular discontent and the artificial intrigue that took advantage of it.

**3 specie epularum]** A banquet was the ordinary form of holding a council, *Germ.* 22. 3.

**nocte ac laetitia]** Not a mere

*hendiadys*, 'nocte per laetitiam transacta,' but 'the late hour and the free revel' (*laetitia* is 'jollity,' a euphemism for something like drunkenness) are conceived as co-ordinate causes of their excitement.

**4 Neque enim . . . haberi]** Perhaps 'it was no longer an alliance, but they were treated,' etc., but it seems better to give *societatem* a concrete sense, 'they were no longer treated as an allied community, but . . .'

**Quando legatum . . . venire?**] 'How long would it be before Flaccus came there' from the Upper Province? He would be bad enough when he did come, but meanwhile his subordinates were intolerable: they were only recalled after unlimited plunder, and one or two semi-judicial murders, and then the successor was as bad.

**sinus]** As ii. 92. 5, iii. 19. 3, etc.; 'new receptacles for stolen goods.'

et senes. Attollerent tantum oculos, et inania legionum nomina ne pavescerent. At sibi robur peditum equitumque, 6 consanguineos Germanos, Gallias idem cupientis. Ne Romanis quidem ingratum id bellum, cuius ambiguam fortunam Vespasianus inputatus: victoriae rationem non reddi.' Magno cum adsensu auditus, barbaro ritu et patriis exsecrationibus universos adigit. Missi ad Canninefates qui consilia sociarent. Ea gens partem insulae colit, origine, lingua, virtute, par Batavis; numero superantur. Mox occultis nuntiis pellexit 2 Britannica auxilia, Batavorum cohortes missas in Germaniam, ut supra rettulimus, ac tum Mogontiaci agentes. Erat in Canninefatibus stolidae audaciae Brinno, claritate natalium insigni. Pater ejus, multa hostilia ausus, Gaianarum expedi- 3 tionum ludibrium inpune spreverat. Igitur ipso rebellis familiae nomine placuit, inpositusque scuto, more gentis, et

5 **senes . . . inania legionum nomina**] The most efficient troops having marched with Valens into Italy, i. 61. 2.

6 **cujus . . . reddi**] It is assumed that Vespasian will overthrow Vitellius; then, says Civilis, if we are unsuccessful against the Vitellian troops we shall still claim to have made a useful diversion in Vespasian's favour, while, if we defeat the Roman troops completely, we shall be as independent of Vespasian as of Vitellius.

CH. XV. **barbaro ritu . . . adigit**] In Liv. ii. 1 we have *jure-jurando adigit* instead of the common construction *jusjurandum ad.*, but perhaps Tac. would not have written as he has, except by a reminiscence of the common phrase *sacramento adigere*, where note that *sacramento* is proved by these analogies to be abl. not dat.

**Canninefates**] We hear of them as distinguished among the Roman auxiliaries in these parts, in *Ann.* iv. 73. 2, xi. 18. 1.

**origine, lingua, virtute, par**] As brave and as thorough Germans.

There is scarcely a zeugma in the use of the three ablatives; the two earlier are taken as implying qualities.

2 **Britannica**] See on i. 31. 3.  
supra] ii. 69. 2.

3 **Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium**] The pl. because he projected two, against Germany and Britain, *Germ.* 37. 5, *Agr.* 13. 4. The sense here seems to be, that when Gaius marched his army into the island, he defied him, and, as the expedition came to nothing, he did so with impunity. *Ludibrium* does not necessarily imply Tacitus' belief in the grotesque farce of collecting 'the trophies of the Ocean'; it is a question whether such an act is less likely to have been done by a confessedly crazy despot, or to have been imagined by a credulous and malevolent public. Merivale's suggestion is at least ingenious, that the collection of shells represents the receiving a tribute of British pearls.

**nomine**] M. wrote at first *homine*, the *h* is struck out, and *omine* makes nearly as good sense as the text.

**inpositusque scuto, more gentis**]

sustinentium humeris vibratus, dux deligitur. Statimque 4 accitis Frisiis (Transrhena gens est,) duarum cohortium hiberna, proxima occupatu, Oceano inrumpit. Nec praeviderant inpetum hostium milites; nec, si praevidissent, satis virium ad arcendum erat. Capta igitur ac direpta castra. 5 Dein vagos, et pacis modo effusos, lixas negotiatoresque Romanos invadunt. Simul excidiis castellorum imminebant; quae a praefectis cohortium incensa sunt, quia defendi nequibant. Signa vexillaque et quod militum in superiorem 6 insulae partem congregantur, duce Aquilio primipilari, nomen magis exercitus quam robur: quippe, viribus cohortium abductis, Vitellius e proximis Nerviorum Germanorumque 16 pagis segnem numerum armis oneraverat. Civilis, dolo grassandum ratus, incusavit ultro praefectos quod castella deseruissent: 'sese cum cohorte, cui praeerat, Canninefatem tumultum compressurum; illi sua quisque hiberna repeterent.' Subesse fraudem consilio et dispersas cohortes facilius 2 opprimi, nec Brinnonem ducem ejus belli sed Civilem esse patuit, erumpentibus paulatim indicis, quae Germani, laeta bello gens, non diu occultaverant. Ubi insidiae parum cessere, ad vim transgressus Canninefates, Frisos, Batavos propriis cuneis componit. Directa ex diverso acies haud

This ceremony is not expressly mentioned in the *Germany*, but we have several notices of it in the case of the Gothic and Frankish monarchies, and even in the election of Julian to the empire on the Frankish frontier; cf. on i. 27. 4. The following words suggest that the 'chairing' members of Parliament was a survival of the primitive practice.

**dux**, not *rex*, *Germ.* 7. 1. The distinction was rather an ideal than a practical one. See Freeman on the English Constitution, Lect. 1.

4 **Oceano**] Abl., 'by way of the ocean.'

6 **viribus . . . oneraverat**] See i. 61. 2, 3. *Ornaverat* is a very stupid conjecture for the last word.

**Nerviorum**, who claimed to be of German origin, *Germ.* 28. 4, though reckoned by Caesar among the Belgic Gauls.

Ch. XVI. 2 **ejus belli**] Which Civilis represented as only *Canninefates tumultus*.

3 **propriis cuneis**] Each nation in a column of its own. *Germ.* 6. 5, 7. 3, *non casus neque fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates*.

**ex diverso**] I.q. *ex adverso*, as

procul a flumine Rheno, et obversis in hostem navibus, quas, incensis castellis, illuc adpulerant. Nec diu certato 4 Tungrorum cohors signa ad Civilem transtulit; percusisque milites improvisa proditione a sociis hostibusque caedebantur. Eadem etiam navibus perfidia. Pars remigum e 5 Batavis, tamquam inperitia, officia nautarum propugnatorumque impediabant. Mox contra tendere, et puppes hostili ripae obicere. Ad postremum gubernatores centurionesque, nisi eadem volentis, trucidant donec universa quattuor et 17 viginti navium classis transfugeret aut caperetur. Clara ea victoria in praesens, in posterum usui; armaque et naves, quibus indigebant, adepti magna per Germanias Galliasque fama libertatis auctores celerabantur. Germaniae statim 2 misere legatos auxilia offerentes. Galliarum societatem Civilis arte donisque adfectabat, captos cohortium praefectos suas in civitates remittendo, cohortibus, abire an manere malling data potestate. Manentibus honorata militia, digredientibus spolia 3 Romanorum offerebantur. Simul secretis sermonibus admonebat malorum quae tot annis perpessi miseram servitutem falso pacem vocarent. 'Batavos, quamquam tributorum 4 expertes, arma contra communes dominos cepisse. Prima acie fusum victumque Romanum. Quid si Galliae jugum exuant? Quantum in Italia reliquum? Provinciarum sanguine provincias vinci. Ne Vindicis aciem cogitarent: Batavo 5

46. 3. Both armies were plainly in the island.

*obversis . . . navibus]* Like *classis . . . conversa et minuci fronte*, ii. 4. 4.

*5 navibus]* Probably dat., by a sort of personification; 'the ships behaved as badly.'

*contra tendere]* They were directed to bring the ships, bow on, close to the shore, where the archers, etc., could harass the enemy's flank. Instead of this, they first kept the

ships in mid-stream, out of range, then, when the battle was decided, turned round, and ran aground in the place directed, but stern-on, so that the *propugnatores* were at the wrong end, and could neither fight, except with their shipmates, nor escape, except by jumping overboard.

CH. XVII. 2 *Germaniae* must mean the Roman provinces—acting no doubt in cantonal assemblies.

5] It was not Romans who had

equite protritos Aeduos Arvernosque ; fuisse inter Verginii auxilia Belgas, vereque reputantibus Galliam suismet viribus concidisse. Nunc easdem omnium partes, addito, si quid militaris disciplinae in castris Romanorum viguerit. Esse 6 secum veteranas cohortes, quibus nuper Othonis legiones pro-  
cubuerint. Servirent Suria Asiaque et suetus regibus Oriens : multos adhuc in Gallia vivere ante tributa genitos. Nuper 7 certe, caeso Quintilio Varo, pulsam e Germania servitutem, nec Vitellium principem, sed Caesarem Augustum bello pro-  
vocatum. Libertatem natura etiam mutis animalibus datam, virtutem proprium hominum bonum. Deos fortioribus adesse. Proinde arriperent vacui occupatos, integri fessos. Dum alii 8 Vespaſianum alii Vitellium foveant, patere locum adversus  
18 utrumque.' Sic in Gallias Germaniasque intentus, si destinata provenissent, validissimarum ditissimarumque nationum regno inminebat. At Flaccus Hordeonius primos Civilis conatus per dissimulationem aluit. Ubi expugnata castra, deletas 2 cohortes, pulsum Batavorum insula Romanum nomen trepidi nuntii adferebant, Munium Lupercum legatum (is duarum

conquered Gauls, but—he was going to say—Germans, who now offer their alliance ; then, lest this should seem invidious, he says that it was really Gauls against Gauls.'

6 *quibus nuper*, etc.] See ii. 43. 4.

43. 4. *multos . . . genitos*] See *Dial. de Or.* 17. 2, 3, *centum et viginti annis, unius hominis aetas*. It was now 120 years since Caesar's conquest, 96 since the census was put on a permanent footing by Augustus. Centenarians, real or supposed, were very likely common in Gaul ; they always are commoner in semi-barbarous nations than in those where refinement has introduced either physical degeneracy or accurate registration.

7 *Deos fortioribus adesse*] To

meet the objection to breach of oaths ; 'the gods favour courage, not scrupulosity.'

*occupatos, . . . fessos*] Both referring to the civil wars.

CH. XVIII. *validissimarum ditissimarumque nationum regno*] The former epithet applies to the Germans, the latter to the Gauls. Yet Civilis does not seem to have aimed at a monarchy extending beyond his own tribe, and certainly did not offer himself as sovereign to the Gauls (61. 2), but left them to the pseudo-Caesar Sabinus (67. 1).

*per dissimulationem*] 'By suppressing the report of them,' whether sympathising with the outbreak, as meant in the Flavian interest, or from mere stupidity.

legionum hibernis praerat,) egredi adversus hostem jubet. Lupercus legionarios e praesentibus, Ubios e proximis, Tre- 3 virorum equites, haud longe agentis, raptim transmisit, addita Batavorum ala, quae, jam pridem corrupta, fidem simulabat, ut, proditis in ipsa acie Romanis, majore pretio fugeret. Civilis captarum cohortium signis circumdatus, ut suo mili 4 recens gloria ante oculos, et hostes memoria clavis ternerentur, matrem suam sororesque, simul omnium conjuges parvosque liberos consistere a tergo jubet, hortamenta victoriae vel pulsis pudorem. Ut virorum cantu, seminarum ululatu sonuit acies, 5 nequaquam par a legionibus cohortibusque redditur clamor. Nudaverat sinistrum cornu Batavorum ala transfugiens, statimque in nos versa. Sed legionarius miles, quamquam rebus trepidis, arma ordinesque retinebat. Ubiorum Trevirorumque 6 auxilia, foeda fuga dispersa, totis campis palantur. Illuc incubuere Germani ; et fuit interim effugium legionibus in castra quibus Veterum nomen est. Praefectus alae Batavorum 7 Claudius Labeo, oppidano certamine aemulus Civili, ne interfectorus invidiam apud populares, vel, si retineretur, semina discordiae paeberet, in Frisos avehitur.

19 Isdem diebus Batavorum et Canninefatum cohortes, cum jussu Vitellii in urbem pergerent, missus a Civile nuntius adsequitur. Intumuere statim superbia ferociaque et pretium

**2 hibernis]** At the Old Camp, § 6. The fact that there was only one legate suggests that the actual garrison was only equivalent to one legion, while the works were meant for two. In fact, after this defeat there was less than one, 22. 5.

**3 fugeret]** Not *transfugeret*. They meant to run away, not to attack the Romans, and so avoid sharing their countrymen's risk while sharing their credit. Their actual desertion (§ 5) was of the less dishonourable kind.

**4 captarum cohortium]** The surrender of the force defeated under Aquilius is implied in 17. 2 ;

in fact they had no escape after the desertion of the fleet.

**matrem . . . jubet]** *Germ.* 7. 4, 8. 1.

**pulsis]** A correction for *pulsus*, which can only be taken as a gen. 'shame for repulse.' The word does not appear to be ever used in that sense, and it is more like Tac. to vary the constr. than to put two genitives.

**5 cantu]** *Germ.* 3. 1.

**legionibus]** See on ii. 22. 1, etc.

**7 Labeonem]** 56. 5, 66. 1.

**CH. XIX. cohortes]** The same which we heard of in 15. 2, etc.

itineris donativom, duplex stipendum, augeri equitum numerum, promissa sane a Vitellio, postulabant, non ut adsequerentur, sed causam seditioni. Et Flaccus multa concedendo 2 nihil aliud effecerat, quam ut acrius exposcerent quae sciebant negaturum. Spreto Flacco inferiorem Germaniam petivere, ut Civili jungerentur. Hordeonius, adhibitis tribunis centurionibusque, consultavit num obsequium abnuentes vi coerceret. Mox insita ignavia et trepidis ministris, quos 3 ambiguus auxiliorum animus et subito delectu suppletae legiones angebant, statuit continere intra castra militem: dein paenitentia, et arguentibus ipsis qui suaserant, tamquam secuturus, scripsit Herennio Gallo, legionis primae legato, qui Bonnam obtinebat, ut arceret transitu Batavos: se cum exercitu tergis eorum haesurum. Et opprimi poterant, si hinc 4 Hordeonius, inde Gallus, motis utrimque copiis, medios clausissent. Flaccus omisit inceptum, aliisque literis Gallum monuit ne terreret abeuntes. Unde suspicio sponte legatorum 5 excitari bellum, cunctaque quae acciderant aut metuebantur, non inertia militis neque hostium vi sed fraude ducum evenire.

20 Batavi, cum castris Bonnensibus propinquarent, praemisere qui Herennio Gallo mandata cohortium exponeret. 'Nullum sibi bellum adversus Romanos, pro quibus totiens bellassent: longa atque inrita militia fessis patriae atque otii cupidinem esse. Si nemo obsisteret, innoxium iter fore: sin arma occurrant, ferro viam inventuros.' Cunctantem legatum milites 2 perpulerant, fortunam praelii experiretur. Tria milia legion-

**augeri equitum numerum]** That more of their own number should be promoted to the more honourable cavalry service.

**3 secuturus]** 'Intending to follow his message.' We probably should have had a stronger word had it meant 'intending to pursue the enemy.'

5 **Unde]** It seems to be meant that the suspicion now originated, which attached not only to Hordeonius, who (13. 3) was not quite innocent, but to Gallus, who may have been, and to the successive commanders who, after Vespasian's success, probably did their best.

CH. XX. 2 perpulerant . . .

riorum et tumultuariae Belgarum cohortes, simul paganorum lixarumque ignava, sed procax ante periculum, manus, omnibus portis rumpunt, ut Batavos numero inparis circumfundant. Illi, veteres militiae, in cuneos congregantur, densi undique et 3 frontem tergaque ac latus tuti. Sic tenuem nostrorum aciem perfringunt. Cedentibus Belgis pellitur legio, et vallum portasque trepidi petebant. Ibi plurimum cladis : cumulatae corporibus fossae ; nec caede tantum et volneribus, sed ruina et suis plerique telis interiere. Victores colonia Agrippinensium 4 vitata, nihil cetero in itinere hostile ausi, Bonnense praelium excusabant, tamquam petita pace, postquam negabatur, sibimet ipsi consuluisserent.

21 Civilis, adventu veteranarum cohortium justi jam exercitus ductor, sed consilii ambiguus et vim Romanam reputans, cunctos qui aderant in verba Vespasiani adigit, mittitque legatos ad duas legiones, quae, priore acie pulsae, in Vetera Castra concesserant, ut idem sacramentum acciperent. Redditur responsum, 'neque proditoris neque hostium se consiliis uti : esse sibi Vitellium principem, pro quo fidem et arma usque ad supremum spiritum retenturos ; proinde perfuga Batavus arbitrium rerum Romanarum ne ageret, sed meritas

**experiretur]** We had similarly the subj. without *ut* after *incitabant* in iii. 64. 1. It is of course common with verbs like *moneo*, *suadeo*, etc.

**tumultuariae B. cohortes]** *Ann.* i. 56. 1.

**rumpunt]** Used absolutely like *erumpunt*. So *Ann.* ii. 17. 6, unless there it be taken as transitive, 'break the line.'

**3 veteres militiae]** The same constr. occurs in *Ann.* i. 20. 2.

**densi . . . tuti** shows that *cuneus* does not imply an arrangement narrower in front than in rear.

**suis plerique telis]** Cf. *Il.* xviii. 228-231.

**interiere]** M. has *interire*, nor

is the hist. inf. out of place, when the copula and conjunction in the former clauses have been omitted.

**4 excusabant]** For the Ubii adhered to Rome.

**Ch. XXI. priore acie]** The comparative distinguishes the action of c. 18 from that of c. 20.

**2 proditoris . . . hostium]** Civilis was the first, his trans-Rhenane allies the second.

**arbitrium . . . ageret]** So *Ann.* xiii. 14. 1, *arbitrium regni ageret* ; *Liv.* xxiv. 45, *libera de quoque arbitria agere*. The second passage shows there is no need of the correction *arbitrum*, here or in *Ann.* l. c.

sceleris paenas exspectaret.' Quae ubi relata Civili, incensus 3  
ira universam Batavorum gentem in arma rapit. Junguntur  
Bructeri Tencteriique et excita nuntiis Germania ad praedam  
22 famamque. Adversus has concurrentes belli minas legati  
legionum, Munius Lupercus et Numisius Rufus, vallum muros-  
que firmabant. Subversa longae pacis opera, haud procul  
castris in modum municipii exstructa, ne hostibus usui forent.  
Sed parum provisum ut copiae in castra conveherentur: rapi 2  
permisere. Ita paucis diebus per licentiam absumpta sunt,  
quae adversus necessitates in longum suffecissent. Civilis, 3  
medium agmen cum robore Batavorum obtinens, utramque  
Rheni ripam, quo truculentior visu foret, Germanorum catervis  
complet, adsultante per campos equite. Simul naves in adver-  
sum amnem agebantur. Hinc veteranarum cohortium signa, 4  
inde depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum imagines, ut cuique  
genti inire praelium mos est, mixta belli civilis externique facie  
obstupefecerant obsessos. Et spem obpugnantium augebat 5  
amplitudo valli, quod, duabus legionibus situm, vix quinque  
milia armatorum Romanorum tuebantur. Sed lixarum multi-  
tudo, turbata pace illuc congregata, et bello ministra aderat.  
23 Pars castrorum in collem leniter exsurgens, pars aequo adiba-

CH. XXII. *concurrentis belli]*  
Of the *converging, gathering* war.  
To read *concurrentes*, or understand  
*-tis* as an accus., would not affect the  
sense much, but would render the  
constr. less Tacitean.

**in modum municipii]** Cf. i. 67. 4.  
2 **Sed]** It was a proper measure  
to destroy the buildings outside the  
camp, but the stores in them should  
have been carried in, and kept in  
public custody, instead of which  
they allowed each man to take what  
he could get, and they naturally  
wasted it.

4 **depromptae . . . imagines]**  
Germ. 7. 2, 45. 3. The former  
passage shows that *lucis* is to be

taken in its strict sense of *sacred*  
groves, the latter (by the use of the  
word *formas*) suggests that we are  
to understand stuffed skins rather  
than carved wooden figures. We  
are reminded of the Totems of the  
American Indians.

5 **situm]** 'Position, *κελμενον*', Or.  
'Laid out for two legions' (18. 2),  
and requiring therefore 12,000 *ar-*  
*matorum Romanorum*. It does not  
appear that there were any disci-  
plined auxiliary troops there actu-  
ally, and perhaps it was not intended  
that there should be.

**bello ministra]** Yet they were  
but an *inbellis turba*, and perhaps  
of *fluxa fides*, 23. 6, 7.

24 tur. Quippe illis hibernis obsideri premique Germanias Augustus crediderat, neque unquam id malorum ut obpugnatum ultro legiones nostras venirent. Inde non loco neque 2 munimentis labor additus: vis et arma satis placebant. Batavi Transrhenanique, quo discreta virtus manifestius spectaretur, sibi quaeque gens consistunt, eminus lacescentes. Post, 3 ubi pleraque telorum turribus pinnisque moenium inrita haerebant, et desuper saxis volnerabantur, clamore atque impetu invasere vallum, adpositis plerique scalis, alii per testudinem suorum. Scandebantque jam quidam, cum, gladiis et armo- 4 rum incussu praecipitati, sudibus et pilis obruuntur, praeferoce initio et rebus secundis nimii. Sed tum, praedae cupidine, adversa quoque tolerabant. Machinas etiam, insolitum sibi, ausi. Nec ulla ipsis sollertia: perfugae captivique docebant 5 struere materias in modum pontis, mox subjectis rotis propellere, ut alii superstantes tamquam ex aggere praelarentur, pars intus occulti muros subruerent. Sed excussa ballistikis saxa stravere informe opus. Et crates vineasque parantibus adactae tormentis ardentes hastae, ultroque ipsi obpugnatores ignibus petebantur, donec, desperata vi, verterent consilium ad moras, haud ignari paucorum dierum inesse alimenta et multum inbellis turbae. Simul ex inopia proditio et fluxa 7 24 servitorum fides ac fortuita belli sperabantur. Flaccus interim,

CH. XXIII. **neque unquam id malorum** depends by a sort of zeugma on *crediderat*. It would be better to say that some word like *expectaverat* is to be supplied from *crediderat*, than that *eventurum fore* is suppressed before *ut*.

**2 non loco**] To account for *pars aequo adibatur*. See Introd.; vol. i. p. xvii.

**sibi quaeque gens**] See on 16. 3.

**4 armorum incussu**] Knocked down with a push from the boss of the shield, 29. 4.

**5 Nec ulla ipsis sollertia**] For

even the veteran Batavian cohorts had no engineers; such were attached to legions only. Yet they were less incapable of such work than their allies, 28. 5.

**in modum pontis**] Or. thinks this is said sarcastically, that it was only 'something like' a bridge; it certainly is called *informe opus* just below. The technical name for the structure (a movable tower, with a bridge half way up), was, in Greek, *ἐλέπολις*, in Latin, *turrisambulatoria* (Hirt. *Bell. Alex.* 2), but Tacitus rather avoids technical words, e.g.

cognito castrorum obsidio, et missis per Gallias qui auxilia concirent, lectos *e* legionibus Dillio Vocolae, duoetvicesimae legionis legato, tradit, ut quam maximis per ripam itineribus celeraret, ipse navibus, invalidus corpore, invisus militibus. Neque enim ambigue fremebant, 'emissas a Mogontiaco <sup>2</sup> Batavorum cohortes, dissimulatos Civilis conatus, adsciri in societatem Germanos. Non Primi Antonii neque Muciani ope Vespasianum magis adolevisse. Aperta odia armaque <sup>3</sup> palam depelli: fraudem et dolum obscura, eoque inevitabilia. Civilem stare contra, struere aciem: Hordeonium *e* cubiculo et lectulo jubere quidquid hosti conducat. Tot armatas fortissimorum virorum manus unius senis valetudine regi. Quin potius, interfecto traditore, fortunam virtutemque suam malo omine exsolverent.' His inter se vocibus instinctos <sup>4</sup> flammavere insuper adlatae a Vespasiano literae, quas Flaccus, quia occultari nequibant, pro contione recitavit, vinctosque <sup>25</sup> qui attulerant ad Vitellium misit. Sic mitigatis animis, Bonnam, hiberna primae legionis, ventum. Infensor illic miles culpam cladis in Hordeonium vertebat: 'ejus jussu directam adversus Batavos aciem, tamquam a Mogontiaco

in the next § he uses *ardentes hastae* rather than *salariae*.

CH. XXIV. *duoetvicesimae*] See on i. 18. 4.

**navibus**] Probably having on board the legionaries not included in the picked force of Vocola, though he would no doubt have one to himself and his staff. For *infensus militibus* as well as *invalidus corpore* (for which see i. 9. 1) are meant to account for his going by the river. The conjecture *pavidus* for *navibus* is at least as gratuitous as ingenious.

**2 dissimulatos C. conatus**] 18. 1.

**3 e cubiculo . . . conducat**] The charge of treason and that of physical incompetence are lumped up together, not without dramatic propriety. But it more or less dawns

on the soldiers that lameness was rather an excuse than an aggravation of incompetence, so they say that even that excuse is unreasonable (*tot . . . regi*).

**traditore**] The only place where the word occurs in good Latin, its occurrence in derived languages having apparently arisen from the ecclesiastical sense of persons who surrendered the Scriptures in persecution. Probably here it is not really synonymous with *proditor*; Flaccus had handed over the Batavian troops to Civilis, whether it was true or no that he meant to betray the Roman troops to him.

**malo omine**] Bad luck was to be expected after a bad beginning.

CH. XXV. *ejus jussu*, etc.]

legiones sequerentur; ejusdem proditione caesos, nullis supervenientibus auxiliis. Ignota haec ceteris exercitibus, neque imperatori suo nuntiari, cum adcurso tot provinciarum extingui repens perfidia potuerit.' Hordeonius exemplares omnium <sup>2</sup> litterarum, quibus per Gallias Britanniamque et Hispanias auxilia orabat, exercitui recitavit, instituitque pessimum facinus, ut epistolae aquiliferis legionum traderentur; a quis ante militi quam ducibus legebantur. Tum e seditionis unum <sup>3</sup> vinciri jubet, magis usurpandi juris quam quia unius culpa foret. Motusque Bonna exercitus in coloniam Agrippinensem, adfluentibus auxiliis Gallorum, qui primo rem Romanam enixe juvabant: mox, valescentibus Germanis, pleraeque civitates adversum nos armatae spe libertatis et, si exuissent servitium, cupidine imperitandi. Gliscebat iracundia legionum, <sup>4</sup> nec terrorem unius militis vincula indiderant. Quin idem ille arguebat ultro conscientiam ducis, tamquam nuntius inter

19. 3; apparently his subsequent orders, *ne terrorret abeuntis*, had not arrived in time.

**imperatori suo]** Their own nominee, the object of their passionate devotion. It appears that they make the unreasonable complaint that Vitellius is not told that there is treachery on the Rhine, so that he may support his faithful troops there with the forces of Gaul and Spain—not the better founded one, that his faithful troops on the Rhine were neutralised by treachery, to distract any forces that might have been summoned to support him on the Po.

**2 exemplares]** Sc. *libros*. The only other place where the masc. form occurs is in Fronto, *Ep.* ii. 5.

**aquiliferis legionum]** Instead of to officers of his own staff; his motive was that these would not be trusted by his own soldiers to deliver the despatches. Tac. calls it *pessimum facinus*, because he rightly holds Flaccus responsible for the men carrying their distrust of the

generals with them. Lipsius' suggestion that despatches made public were read *ad signa* hardly accounts for their being delivered to the standard-bearers of *other* legions than those receiving them.

**3 unum]** Cf. i. 84. 2.

**usurpandi juris]** This use of the gerundive genitive in a final sense, though not unknown in earlier Latin (e.g. *Liv.* xxvii. 9, *ea prodendi imperii Romani, tradendae Hannibali victoriae*) is especially common in Tac., e.g. *Ann.* ii. 59. 1, *cognoscendae antiquitatis*. It is probably not an ellipsis of *causa*, but the sense (which is quite as much 'by way of' as 'for the purpose of') lies in the case itself; perhaps there is a conscious imitation of the equivalent constr. in Greek.

**mox]** See 54 *sqq.*, especially 55. 1, and, for the mutual jealousies of the Gaulish states, 59. 2.

**armatae]** M. has *arma*: perhaps *arma sumpserit* is better, as the latter word might be omitted before *spe*.

Civilem Flaccumque falso crimine testis veri opprimeretur. Conscendit tribunal Vocula mira constantia, presumque 5 militem ac vociferantem duci ad supplicium jussit. Et dum mali pavent, optimus quisque jussis paruere. Exin consensu ducem Voculam poscentibus, Flaccus summam rerum ei per-  
26 misit. Sed discordes animos multa efferabant, inopia stipendii frumentique, et simul delectum tributaque Galliae aspernantes, Rhenus incognita illi caelo siccitate vix navium patiens, arti commeatus, dispositae per omnem ripam stationes, quae Germanos vado arcerent, eademque de causa minus frugum et plures qui consumerent. Apud inperitos prodigii loco 2 accipiebatur ipsa aquarum penuria, tamquam nos amnes quoque et vetera imperii munimenta desererent. Quod in pace fors seu natura, tunc fatum et ira dei vocabatur.

Ingressis Novesium sexta decuma legio conjungitur. Addi- 3 tus Voculae in partem curarum Herennius Gallus legatus; nec ausi ad hostem pergere, loco *cui* Gelduba nomen est castra fecere. Ibi struenda acie, muniendo vallandoque, et ceteris belli meditamentis, militem firmabant. Utque praeda 4

CII. XXVI. *illi caelo*] In the south there would have been nothing wonderful in even so large a river getting perceptibly low in autumn. It was now probably September or October (31. 1, iii. 22. 1).

*eademque de causa*] The troops were crowded on the Rhine, and could not get provisions up the Rhine, which appears from the next c. to have been the only mode of carriage. Of course they are not likely, even in time of peace, to have derived their supplies from *across* the Rhine.

*2 vetera imp. munimenta*] The *annies* themselves. So *Germ.* 29. 3, *ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos imperii*.

*fors . . . fatum*] Notice the antithesis between the two.

*3 sexta decuma*] The figures in

M. are obscure, whence some read *tertia decuma*. But the 16th was in Germany (i. 55. 2), the 13th not (iii. 41, etc.)

*Gallus*] Who could not be suspected of complicity in the alleged treason of Flaccus, as he had already been its victim.

*struenda acie*] 'Drill,' in the modern sense, which formed a smaller part than we should have expected in the exercises of the Roman soldier; from Polybius' elaborate account it is plain that it was the carebestowed *muniendo vallandoque* that was their most conspicuous distinction from other armies. We are probably to understand that these troops were so much disorganised that they had to go back to exercises that ordinarily were got over as the first lessons of a recruit.

ad virtutem accenderetur, in proximos Gugernorum pagos, qui societatem Civilis acceperant, ductus *et* Vacula exercitus.

27 Pars cum Herennio Gallo permansit. Forte navem haud procul castris, frumento gravem, cum per vada haesisset, Germani in suam ripam trahebant. Non tulit Gallus, misitque subsidio cohortem. Auctus et Germanorum numerus, paulatimque adgregantibus se auxiliis acie certatum. Germani multa cum strage nostrorum navem abripiunt. Victi (quod 2  
tum in morem verterat,) non suam ignaviam, sed perfidiam legati culpabant. Protractum e tentorio, scissa veste, verberato corpore, quo pretio, quibus consciis, prodidisset exercitum, dicere jubent. Redit in Hordeonium invidia. Illum 3  
auctorem sceleris, hunc ministrum vocant, donec, exitium minitantibus, exterritus proditionem et ipse Hordeonio objecit; vinctusque adventu demum Vocolae exsolvitur. Is postera die auctores seditionis morte adfecit. Tanta illi exercitui 4  
diversitas inerat licentiae patientiaeque. Haud dubie gregarius miles Vitellio fidus, splendidissimus quisque in Vespasianum proni. Inde scelerum ac suppliciorum vices et mixtus obsequio furor, ut contineri non possent qui puniri poterant.

28 At Civilem inmensis auctibus universa Germania extollebat, societate nobilissimis obsidum firmata. Ille, ut cuique proxi-

4 *ductus a Vocola*] M. has *ductus Vocola*, which it is nearly but not quite impossible that Tac. should have written. Some suggest that *Vocolae* might have lost its last letter before the initial letter *e* of the next word, but a dat. of the agent would be almost as harsh as the simple abl., and the gen., 'Vocola's army' (as distinct from Gallus'), will hardly suit the context. Probably therefore the prep. is rightly supplied.

Ch. XXVII. 2 *legati*] Gallus, 19. 3.

3 *Illum . . . hunc*] The former word refers of course to Flaccus, the second to Gallus. The one

actually before the men is more naturally designated *hic* than the one who (just because he was not the first thought of) was last mentioned. Hordeonius, having resigned the active command to the legates, was probably out of the camp, though near enough to be promptly arrested.

4 *licentiae patientiaeque*] Explained by the last words of the c. The intermediate sentence accounts for the phenomenon *mixtus obsequio furor*; they distrusted their commanders, not unjustly, and yet did not wish to compromise their own loyalty.

mum, vastari Ubios Trevirosque, et alia manu Mosam amnem transiri jubet, ut Menapios et Morinos et extrema Galliarum quateret. Actae utrobique praedae, infestius in Ubiis, quod 2 gens Germanicae originis, ejurata patria, Romanorum nomen, Agrippinenses, vocarentur. Caesae cohortes eorum in vico 3 Marcoduro incuriosius agentes, quia procul ripa aberant. Nec quievere Ubii, quo minus praedas e Germania peterent, primo in pune, dein circumventi sunt, per omne id bellum meliore usi fide quam fortuna. Contusis Ubiis, gravior et 4 successu rerum ferocior Civilis obsidium legionum urgebat, intentis custodiis, ne quis occultus nuntius venientis auxiliu penetraret. Machinas molemque operum Batavis delegat: 5 Transrhenanos, praelium poscentis, ad scindendum vallum ire, detrusosque redintegrare certamen jubet, superante multi-  
 29 tudine et facili damno. Nec finem labori nox attulit. Congestis circum lignis accensisque, simul epulantes, ut quisque vino incaluerat, ad pugnam temeritate inani ferebantur. Quippe ipsorum tela per tenebras vana: Romani conspicuam barbarorum aciem, et si quis audacia aut insignibus effulgens, ad ictum destinabant. Intellectum id Civili, et, restincto 2 igne, misceri cuncta tenebris et armis jubet. Tum vero strepitus dissoni, casus incerti, neque feriendi neque declinandi

**CII. XXVIII. extrema Galliarum]** A somewhat more generalised synonym for *Menapios* et *Morinos*, cf. Virg. *Aen.* viii. 727, *extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis*. The Morini occupied the coast of the Straits of Dover, the Menapii were farther north and east, between the Scheldt and Maas.

**2 Romanorum nomen . . . vocarentur]** We have the same constr. in *Germ.* 6. 5, *idque ipsum inter suos vocantur*, and it is made rather more than less clear by the word *Agrippinenses* being inserted in apposition with *nomen*. It is therefore wrong to read *nomine*, still it would

have been simpler to have written *Agrippinenses Romanum nomen vocarentur*.

**4 legionum]** At *Vetera*.

**5 Machinas]** Cf. 23. 5.

**facilis damno]** There were plenty of them, and so their loss would matter little. For the use of the adj., cf. Virg. *Aen.* ii. 646, *facilis jactura sepulcri*.

**CII. XXIX. simul epulantes]**  
*I. q. ἄπα δειπνοῦτες*.

**si quis]** It is easy enough to supply an antecedent, but it is Tacitean rather than ordinary Latin to couple the supplied *eum* as a climax over the co-ordinate subst.

providentia. Unde clamor acciderat, circumagere corpora, tendere † arcus (*acrius*?). Nihil prodesse virtus, fors cuncta 3 turbare, et ignavorum saepe telis fortissimi cadere. Apud Germanos inconsulta ira: Romanus miles, periculorum gnarus, ferratas sudes, gravia saxa non forte jaciebat. Ubi sonus 4 molientium aut adpositae scalae hostem in manus dederant, propellere umbone, pilo sequi; multos in moenia egressos pugionibus fodere. Sic exulta nocte novam aciem dies 30 aperuit. Eduxerant Batavi turrim dupli tabulato, quam praetoriae portae (is aequissimus locus,) propinquantem promoti contra validi asseres et incussae trabes perfregere, multa superstantium pernicie. Pugnatumque in percusso subita et prospera eruptione. Simul a legionariis peritia et arte praestantibus plura struebantur. Praecipuum pavorem intulit sus- 2 pensum et nutans machinamentum, quo repente demisso praeter suorum ora singuli pluresve hostium, sublime rapti, verso pondere intra castra effundebantur. Civilis, omissa 3

**2 arcus]** Objected to, because bows were not much used by the Germans, and the Romans, we see, used heavier missiles. Orelli's argument, that they could not use bows in the dark, scarcely agrees with the next sentence, which shows that they did use missiles, with or without effect. But if the word is to be corrected, his conjecture *acrius* is no doubt the best proposed: he compares *Ann.* ii. 74. 1, where, however, the sense is of a mental not a physical effort.

**3 non forte]** 'Not at random,' as the Germans did: not improbably it is also meant to contrast their formidable missiles with the lighter ones of the enemy, especially if *arcus* be right after all.

**4 propellere umbone]** See 23. 4. Ch. XXX. *turrim*] 23. 5.

**is aequissimus locus]** 23. 1.

**2 machinamentum]** It was called *tolleno*, 'a swipe;' in *Liv.* xxiv. 34

we hear of a similar one on a larger scale—one of the scarcely credible engines ascribed to Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse.

**verso pondere]** The short heavy arm of the free cross-beam approximately balanced the longer but slighter one (hence *nutans*, 'oscillating,') to which the grappling-iron was attached: when the former was pulled (possibly a weight attached to it shifted: but *pondus* is naturally 'the weight,' as a statical or dynamical force, not 'a weight' in the concrete) it *over-balanced* it, so that the long arm rose to a nearly perpendicular position, and the man caught by it (how was the grappling-iron made to take hold of him when lowered?) was hoisted in a curve over the rampart, and dropped inside. There is no need to suppose that the whole machine turned round horizontally like the roof of a windmill.

obpugnandi spe, rursus per otium asidebat, nuntiis et promissis fidem legionum convellens.

3<sup>1</sup> Haec in Germania ante Cremonense praelium gesta, cuius eventum litterae Primi Antonii docuere, addito Caecinae edicto. Et praefectus cohortis e victis, Alpinius Montanus, fortunam partium praesens fatebatur. Diversi hinc motus <sup>2</sup> animorum. Auxilia e Gallia, quis nec amor neque odium in partes, militia sine affectu, hortantibus praefectis statim a Vitellio desciscunt: vetus miles cunctabatur. Sed adidente Hordeonio Flacco, instantibus tribunis, dixit sacramentum, non voltu neque animo satis adfirmans; et cum cetera juris jurandi verba conciperent, Vespasiani nomen haesitantes, aut <sup>3</sup> 2 levi murmure et plerumque silentio, transmittebant. Lectae deinde pro contione epistolae Antonii ad Civilem suspicione militum inritavere, tamquam ad socium partium scriptae, et de Germanico exercitu hostiliter. Mox, adlatis Geldubam in <sup>2</sup> castra nuntiis, eadem dicta factaque, et missus cum mandatis Montanus ad Civilem, ut absisteret bello neve externa armis falsis velaret: si Vespasianum juvare adgressus foret, satisfactum coepitis. Ad ea Civilis primo callide: post ubi videt <sup>3</sup> Montanum paeferocem ingenio paratumque in res novas, orsus a questu periculisque quae per quinque et viginti annos

<sup>3</sup> *obpugnandi*] Not synonymous with *exp.*, still less to be changed for it. *Obpugnatio* is the process of which *expugnatio* is the result.

CII. XXXI. *Caecinae edicto*] His official proclamation as consul. He may possibly have issued one before he was arrested by his troops, (iii. 13. 1-3); more probably it was after the battle, which was before his consulship expired (iii. 31. 7), though only just before, as his treason, some days earlier, was known at Rome on the last day of his term (iii. 37. 2).

*Montanus*] iii. 35. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *non . . . adfirmans*] Cf. ii. 74.

<sup>1</sup> : for the technical phrase *verba concipere*, 41. 1; also Liv. i. 32, *concipiendi juris jurandi*.

CII. XXXII. *tamquam ad socium partium*] 13. 2, 14. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *externa*] 'A foreign war,' as opposed to a party movement. *Arma* is perhaps to be supplied from *armis*, but it may better be taken in a more abstract and general sense, as iii. 5. 3, *Ann. vi. 32. 1* (*res externas*). In 72. 3, i. 79. 1, the word approximates less closely to the meaning of *hostilia*: even here it is an overstatement to say that it is quite equivalent to it.

in castris Romanis exhausisset, 'Egregium,' inquit, 'preium 4 laborum recepi, necem fratris et vincula mea et saevissimas hujus exercitus voces, quibus ad supplicium petitus jure gentium poenas reposco. Vos autem Treviri ceteraeque ser- 5 videntium animae, quod praemium effusi totiens sanguinis exspectatis nisi ingratam militiam, inmortalia tributa, virgas, secures et dominorum ingenia? En ego praefectus unius 6 cohortis et Canninefates Batavique, exigua Galliarum portio, vana illa castrorum spatia excidimus, vel septa ferro fameque preimus. Denique ausos aut libertas sequetur, aut victi iidem erimus.' Sic accensum, sed molliora referre jussum 7 dimittit. Ille ut inritus legationis redit, cetera dissimulans, 33 quae mox erupere. Civilis, parte copiarum retenta, veteranas cohortes, et quod e Germanis maxime promptum, adversus Voculam exercitumque ejus mittit, Julio Maximo et Claudio Victore, sororis suae filio, ducibus. Rapiunt in transitu 2 hiberna alae Asciburgii sita; adeoque improvisi castra invola-

3 **exhausisset**] The subject is Civilis not Montanus; though he doubtless appealed to the latter's fellow-feeling.

4 **recepil**] Received *in payment*.  
necem fratris et vincula mea]

13. 1.  
ad supplicium petitus] *Ibid.*  
i. 59. 1.

5 **ingenia**] 'Launen, caprices,' Or. Rather 'a slave-owner's temper' on the part of your rulers.

6 **vana illa castrorum spatia**] 22. 5.

**iidem**] 'No worse off'—the same designation, whether *servi* or a better one, will still apply to us. Note the arrangement of the two *auts*; they will venture the risk in any case, and either freedom will result from it, or the *status quo* from defeat.

7 **Mox**] 54 *sqq.*  
CH. XXXIII. veteranas co-  
hortes] 19, etc.

sororis suae filio] For the importance of this relationship among the Germans see *Germ.* 20. 4: cf. *Ann.* xii. 29. 2. The same feeling is noticed as existing among the Nairs of the Malabar coast, and the Iroquois and some other tribes in America. From the gambling scene in the 'Song of Hiawatha' we are perhaps to understand that the uncle had something like the *patria potestas*. We hear of two other nephews of Civilis, 90. 3, v. 20. 1: he was married (79. 1), but apparently had no son grown up (61. 1). Nephews, though so near and dear a relation, were not heirs, *Germ.* 20. 5.

2 **Asciburgii**] *Germ.* 3. 3. The town is identified by some with Essenburg, more generally with Asburg; the etymology is more obvious in the Latin form than either. But we can infer nothing as to the hard or soft pronunciation of the *c*, for the High and Low

vere ut non adloqui, non pandere aciem Vocula potuerit. Id solum, ut in tumultu, monuit, subsignano milite media firmare. Auxilia passim circumfusa sunt. Eques prorupit, exceptusque compositis hostium ordinibus terga in suos vertit. Caedes inde, non praelium. Et Nerviorum cohortes, metu seu per- 3 fidia, latera nostrorum nudavere. Sic ad legiones perventum ; quae, amissis signis, intra vallum sternebantur, cum repente novo auxilio fortuna pugnae mutatur. Vasconum lectae a 4 Galba cohortes ac tum accitae dum castris propinquant, auditio praeliantium clamore, intentos hostis a tergo invadunt, latior- remque quam pro numero terrorem faciunt, aliis a Novesio, aliis a Mogontiaco, universas copias advenisse credentibus. Is error addit animos, et dum alienis viribus confidunt, suas recepere. Fortissimus quisque e Batavis, quantum peditum 5 erat, funduntur : eques evasit cum signis captivisque, quos prima acie corripuerant. Caesorum eo die in partibus nostris 34 major numerus et inbellior ; e Germanis ipsa robora. Dux uterque pari culpa meritus adversa, prosperis defuere. Nam Civilis si majoribus copiis instruxisset aciem, circumiri a tam paucis cohortibus nequisset, castraque perrupta exscidisset. Vocula nec adventum hostium exploravit, eoque simul egressus 2

German forms *Esche*, *Ash*, etc., are no doubt later than one where a hard guttural follows the *s*.

**subsignano milite**] It is matter of question whether this means 'veteran' or 'reserve troops' (something similar to the *triarii* of the pre-Marian legion, perhaps the same as the *vexillarii*) or 'legionaries' in general. Or., taking the latter view, makes the *legiones* of § 3 the same as these. Cf. i. 70. 4.

**terga in suos vertit**] *Terga vertere* is used as a verb of motion, i.g. *refugere*.

**5 inbellior**] Camp-followers hanging about Asciburgium, as at Vetera, 22. 5.

**ipsa robora**] The *veteranae cohortes*.

**CII. XXXIV. Nam . . . aciem**] If Civilis had kept a smaller force to maintain the blockade of Vetera (33. 1). The sense cannot be to censure him for the tactics at the actual attack, not extending the line enough with the given number of troops : as for this his subordinates must have been responsible.

**nequisset**] Or. needlessly supposes a change of subject, from *Civilis* to *acies*. Although Civilis was not present in person, it might fairly be said that *he* was surrounded when his men were. Cf. iii. 16. 4.

**2 nec**] Answered by *dein*, not

victusque ; dein victoriae parum confisus, tritis frustra diebus, castra in hostem movit, quem si statim impellere cursumque rerum sequi maturâasset, solvere obsidium legionum eodem impetu potuit. Tentaverat interim Civilis obsessorum animos, 3 tamquam perditae apud Romanos res et suis victoria provenisset. Circumferebantur signa vexillaque ; ostentati etiam captivi. Ex quibus unus, egregium facinus ausus, clara voce gesta patefecit, confossus *illico* a Germanis ; unde major indici fides. Simul vastatione incendiisque flagrantium villarum 4 venire victorem exercitum intellegebatur. In conspectu castrorum constitui signa, fossamque et vallum circumdari Vocula jubet : depositis impedimentis sarcinisque expediti certarent. Hinc in ducem clamor pugnam poscentium ; et minari adsueverant. Ne tempore quidem ad ordinandam aciem capto, 5 incompositi fessique praelium sumpsere. Nam Civilis aderat, non minus vitiis hostium quam virtute suorum fretus. Varia 6 apud Romanos fortuna, et seditiosissimus quisque ignavus. Quidam recentis victoriae memores retinere locum, ferire hostem, seque et proximos hortari, et, redintegrata acie, manus ad obsessos tendere, ne tempori deessent. Illi cuncta e muris 7 cernentes, omnibus portis prorumpunt. Ac forte Civilis lapsu equi prostratus, credita per utrumque exercitum fama volneratum aut interfectum, ininane quantum suis pavoris et hostibus

*eoque*. He committed two faults, (1) letting himself be surprised, (2) not following up his undeserved success. Or. takes the sense to be, ‘*besides the same fault as Civilis*, took no precaution against surprise.’ But it does not appear that Vocula had any more men available. It can scarcely be doubted that the other view is right, if we consider that Tac. cares more for rhetorical symmetry than for grammatical regularity.

3 *illico*] A correction for *illic* : some justify the ms. reading, trans-

lating it as *i.q. aὐτοῦ*, ‘on the spot.’ *Illico* in fact etymologically means the same.

6 *seque et proximos hortari*] As the general and officers had had no opportunity to do so.

*redintegrata acie* shows that *varia fortuna* in the last sentence is something of a euphemism, as in v. 17. 3.

7 *lapsu equi* may mean either that his horse fell, or he fell from his horse—probably the former. He was rather seriously hurt, 35. 2.

alacritatis indidit. Sed Vocula, omissis fugientium tergis, 8 vallum turrisque castrorum augebat, tamquam rursus obsidium immineret, corrupta totiens victoria non falso suspectus bellum 35 malle. Nihil aequa exercitus nostros quam egestas copiarum fatigabat. Impedimenta legionum cum inbelli turba Novesium missa, ut inde terrestri itinere frumentum adveharent: nam flumine hostes potiebantur. Primum agmen securum incessit, 2 nondum satis firmo Civile. Qui ubi rursum missos Novesium frumentatores, datasque in praesidium cohortes, velut multa pace ingredi accepit, rarum apud signa militem, arma in vehiculis, cunctos licentia vagos, compositus invadit, praemissis qui pontes et viarum angusta insiderent. Pugnatum longo 3 agmine et incerto Marte, donec praelium nox dirimeret.

**S corrupta totiens victoria]** We should readily translate, 'having spoilt his victory so often:' but from Orelli's note it appears that in most languages such an expression appears harsh.

**non falso]** Even after his death, it was agreed in the army to look on him as a traitor, 77. 3. But what Tacitus says in his own person does not amount to a charge of treason in the worst sense: like Flaccus before him, he wished the foreign war to keep the troops occupied, till the civil war was ended, and Vespasian established on the throne. His whole conduct, both before and after, shows that he earnestly attempted to keep the troops efficient and loyal: and from the facts related by Tacitus, we should hardly have thought he deserved any worse blame than that of failure where success was almost impossible. At this particular time he might not unreasonably think a pursuit with troops tired as well as mutinous too hazardous to be attempted. But Tacitus plainly knew the German frontier personally, and may well have had more materials

for his judgment than he gives us.

**CII. XXXV. copiarum]** Plainly 'supplies,' not 'forces.'

**Impedimenta]** Baggage waggons, to come back laden with corn.

**inbelli turba]** The camp-followers of 22. 5, 23. 6. In the next § we hear that they had an escort of regular troops: very likely those that Vocula thought could best be spared, but it is a precarious inference from 33. 5, that the epithet *inbelli* includes inferior combatants as well as non-combatants who could bear arms on occasion.

**2 Primum agmen]** Not used partitively, but opposed to *rursum missos*; there were two distinct parties.

**firma]** 'Recovered' from his fall. After the failure of Maximus and Victor, he was unwilling to trust his troops away from his personal command; or perhaps they felt themselves unable or unwilling to act without him.

**pontes]** Perhaps rather dikes across marshes than bridges over rivers, as there is no considerable tributary to the Rhine between the

Cohortes Geldubam perrexere, manentibus, ut fuerant, castris, quae relictorum illic militum praesidio tenebantur. Non erat dubium quantum in regressu discriminis adeundum foret frumentatoribus onustis perculsisque. Addit exercitui suo Voclula 4 mille delectos e quinta et quinta decima legionibus apud Vetera obsessis, indomitum militem et ducibus infensum. Plures quam jussum erat profecti palam in agmine fremebant non se ultra famem, insidias legatorum toleraturos. At qui 5 remanserant, desertos se abducta parte legionum querebantur. Duplex hinc seditio, aliis revocantibus Voclulam, aliis redire 36 in castra abnuentibus. Interim Civilis Vetera circumsedit. Voclula Geldubam atque inde Novesium concessit. Civilis capit Geldubam; mox haud procul Novesio equestri praelio prospere certavit. Sed miles secundis adversisque perinde 2 in exitium ducum accendebatur. Et adventu quintanorum quintadecimanorumque auctae legiones donativom exposcunt, comperto pecuniam a Vitellio missam. Nec diu cunctatus 3 Hordeonius nomine Vespasiani dedit. Idque praecipuum

two places. But as they probably would keep at some distance from that river, they may have had, twice or oftener, to cross branches of the Niess.

3 **Geldubam**] More than two-thirds of the way to Novesium, so that perhaps they were there secure of their communications with it: the only difficulty was, how to get back to Vetera.

4 **indomitum**] 'High-spirited:' *per se* it would bear a good sense, and here has rather a neutral than a bad. Voclula's strategy was probably sound, if the conditions of regular war had been realised. His object was to concentrate the Roman army at Novesium, only distracting the enemy by leaving a garrison in Vetera—a small one, as provisions were scarce. With well-affected troops on his own side, he

might have driven the enemy from both Vetera and Mogontiaeum; or if not, with an enemy that could be trusted to observe the laws of war, it would have been no intolerable evil if 4000 men were forced to capitulate at the former place, after having neutralised a larger number for some weeks. As it was, the main army was no sooner assembled than it quarrelled: and the garrison was, as it expected, abandoned to famine and massacre.

**famem, insidias**] Perhaps rather an apposition than an asyndeton.

CH. XXXVI. **capit**] 'Occupies,' evidently unopposed.

2 **secundis adversisque**] The temporary relief of Vetera and establishment of communications with Novesium, and the defeat in the cavalry action.

3 **Hordeonius**] He had remained

fuit seditionis alimentum. Effusi in luxum et epulas et nocturnos coetus veterem in Hordeonium iram renovant, nec ullo legatorum tribunorumve obsistere auso (quippe omnem pudorem nox ademerat,) protractum e cubili interficiunt. Eadem in Vocolam parabantur, nisi servili habitu per tenebras ignoratus evasisset. Ubi, sedato impetu, metus rediit, centuriones 4 cum epistolis ad civitates Galliarum misere, auxilia ac stipendia 37 oratuos. Ipsi, ut est volgus sine rectore praeceps, pavidum, socors, adventante Civile, raptis temere armis ac statim omissis, in fugam vertuntur. Res adversae discordiam peperere, iis 2 qui e superiore exercitu erant causam suam dissociantibus. Vitellii tamen imagines in castris et per proximas Belgarum civitates repositae, cum jam Vitellius occidisset. Dein mutati 3 in paenitentiam primani quartanique et duoetvicesimani Vocolam sequuntur; apud quem resumpto Vespasiani sacramento ad liberandum Mogontiaci obsidium ducebantur. Disces- 4 serant obsores, mixtus ex Chattis, Usipiis, Mattiacis exercitus, satietate praedae nec incruenti. In via dispersos et nescios miles noster invaserat. Quin et loricam vallumque per fines suos Treveri struxere, magnisque in vicem cladibus cum Germanis certabant, donec egregia erga populum Romanum merita mox rebelles foedarent.

there ever since he made over the command to Vocola at Colonia, 25. 5. 26. 3, 27. 3.

**nocturnos coetus**] Seditious as well as disorderly.

**ademerat**] From officers as well as men.

**servili habitu**] Cf. ii. 20. 2.

**CH. XXXVII. 2 e superiore exercitu**] The 4th and 22d legions. The last were Vocola's own (24. 1), and the others had learnt to contrast him favourably at least with Hordeonius. The last would be the case also with the *primani* (25. 1).

**cum jam V. occidisset**] It was

therefore now quite mid-winter. Of course they had not had news of his death; though the act was little more than a protest against the conduct of their own commanders, and showed no rational belief that his cause was not hopeless.

**3 ad liberandum M. obsidium**] A (Virgilian) inversion of constr. Any one else would have said *ad liberandum obsidio Mogontiacum* or *ad solvendum Mogontiaci obsidium*.

**4 incruenti**] 'Not without loss,' cf. Sall. *Jug.* 92. 4, *exercitu incruento*.

**mox rebelles**] 55. 4, etc.

38 Interea Vespasianus iterum ac Titus consulatum absentes inierunt, maesta et multiplici metu suspensa civitate, quae super instantia mala falsos pavores induerat, descivisse Africam res novas moliente L. Pisone. Is *praecerat* provinciae, nequa- 2 quam turbidus ingenio: sed quia naves saevitia hiemis prohibebantur, volgus alimenta in dies mercari solitum, cui una ex re publica annonae cura, clausum litus, retineri commieatus, dum timet, credebat; augentibus famam Vitellianis, qui studium partium nondum posuerant; ne victoribus quidem ingrato rumore, quorum cupiditates, externis quoque bellis 39 inexplorables, nulla unquam civilis victoria satiavit. Kalendis Januariis in senatu, quem Julius Frontinus, praetor urbanus, vocaverat, legatis exercitibusque ac regibus laudes gratesque decretae; et Tettio Juliano praetura, tamquam transgredientem in partes Vespasiani legionem deseruisset, ablata, ut in Plotium Grifum transferretur. Hormo dignitas equestris data. 2 Et mox ejurante Frontino Caesar Domitianus praeturam cepit. Ejus nomen epistolis edictisque praeponebatur, vis penes Mucianum erat, nisi quod pleraque Domitianus, instigantibus

CH. XXXVIII. *iterum*] He had been *suffectus* for the last two months of A.D. 51, A.U.C. 804. It had attracted remark (*Ann.* iii. 31. 1) when Tiberius and Drusus gave the first example of a father and a son being consuls together, but apparently only as a bit of antiquarian or constitutional curiosity. Such curiosity was not extinct now (iii. 37. 3), but attention was rather occupied by the more important fact that Vespasian was the only Caesar except Tiberius who had a grown-up son, and gave hopes of a stable dynasty. Mucianus, whatever his faults, was not a Sejanus.

2 *una . . . cura*] One is reminded of the well-known line, *Juv.* x. 80, but Tacitus is more good-humoured in his satire. The food supply of

the capital certainly *was* a question of public interest.

*clausum litus*] The ports all along the coast closed; *mare clausum* would be more usual; ii. 17. 1, iii. 2. 9, are correlative expressions.

*externis quoque bellis*] Of which they had two on their hands, in Judaea and Germany.

CH. XXXIX. *Julius Frontinus*] The author of the extant works on Strategy and Aqueducts.

*praetor urbanus*] i. 47. 1.

*regibus*] ii. 81. 1, 2.

*Juliano*] i. 79. 8, ii. 85. 3.

*Grifum*] iii. 52. 3. The object is to reward him, not to punish Julianus: *belli civilis praemia festinantur* (iii. 37. 3).

*Hormo*] iii. 12. 4, 28. 1.

*2 praeturam*] See 3. 5, and note.

amicis aut propria libidine, audebat. Sed praecipuus Muciano 3 metus e Primo Antonio Varoque Arrio, quos recentes clarosque rerum fama ac militum studiis etiam populus sovebat, quia in neminem ultra aciem saevierant. Et ferebatur An- 4 tonius Scribonianum Crassum, egregiis majoribusque et fraterna imagine fulgentem, ad capessendam rem publicam hortatus, haud defutura conciorum manu, ni Scribonianus abnuisset, ne paratis quidem corrumpi facilis, adeo metuens incerta. Igitur Mucianus, quia propalam opprimi Antonius nequibat, 5 multis in senatu laudibus cumulatum secretis promissis onerat, citeriorem Hispaniam ostentans discessu Cluvii Rufi vacuam; simul amicis ejus tribunatus praefecturasque largitur. Dein 6 postquam inanem animum spe et cupidine inpleverat, vires abolet dimissa in hiberna legione septima, cuius flagrantissimus in Antonium amor. Et tertia legio, familiaris Arrio Varo miles, in Suriam remissa. Pars exercitus in Germanias ducebatur. Sic egesto quidquid turbidum, reddit urbi sua forma legesque et munia magistratum.

40 Quo die senatum ingressus est Domitianus, de absentia patris fratrisque ac juventa sua pauca et modica disseruit, decorus habitu; et, ignotis adhuc moribus, crebra oris confusio

4 *Scribonianum*] The brother of Piso Licinianus, i. 47. 4.

5 *discessu Cluvii Rufi*] ii. 65. 1.

6 *inanem*] Not very common in the subjective sense of 'vain,' though found in Sall. *Jug.* 64. 5, *homo inanis et regiae superbiae*; Hor. *Sat.* i. 4. 76, *inanes hoc juvat*. Here it is helped out by *animus* itself suggesting the notion of pride, also the literal sense of *inanis* is supplied with the correlative *inpleverat*.

*septima . . . amor*] He had been their own commander, ii. 86. 2.

*tertia . . . remissa*] Varus had served under Corbulo in the East, iii. 6. 1; the 3d legion had been only recently transferred from Syria,

ii. 74. 2.

Cii. XI. *decorus habitu* implies both 'graceful in his bearing' (C. and B.) and 'dignified in manner.' He looked like a nice young man, and spoke like a promising young prince.

*crebra oris confusio*] The *rubor quo se contra pudorem muniebat* of *Agr.* 45. 2. This passage proves that the other is not to be understood of a permanent ruddy complexion, but of a habit of blushing readily, no doubt chiefly constitutional, but not perhaps unconnected with his character. Domitian's vices were of a sort that paid large homage to virtue.

pro modestia accipiebatur. Referente Caesare de restituendis 2 Galbae honoribus, censuit Curtius Montanus ut Pisonis quoque memoria celebraretur. Patres utrumque jussere: de Pisone irritum fuit. Tum sorte ducti per quos redderentur 3 bello rapta, quique aera legum vetustate delapsa noscerent figerentque, et fastos, adulatio temporum foedatos, exonera- rent, modumque publicis impensis facerent. Redditur Tettio 4 Juliano praetura, postquam cognitus est ad Vespasianum con- fugisse: Gripho honor mansit. Repeti inde cognitionem inter Musonium Rufum et Publum Celerem placuit, damna- tusque Publius et Sorani manibus satisfactum. Insignis 5 publica severitate dies ne privatim quidem laude caruit. Justum indicium explisse Musonius videbatur: diversa fama Demetrio Cynicam sectam professo, quod manifestum reum ambitiosius quam honestius defendisset. Ipsi Publio neque animus in periculis neque oratio subpeditavit. Signo ulti- 6 onis in accusatores dato, petit a Caesare Junius Mauricus, ut

2 **Caesare]** See on i. 29. 3.

de **Pisone irritum fuit]** It served however to license his brother keeping his *imago*, 39. 4.

3 **aera legum**, etc.] This may or may not be another version of the same story as Suetonius', that Vespasian restored the inscriptions destroyed in the Capitol from copies carefully collected and authenti- cated.

**fastos . . . foedatos]** By festivals, such as the Juvenalia, instituted by Nero, or by others in his honour, see *e.g.* *Ann.* xv. 23. 3, 4.

**modum publicis impensis]** Prob- ably correlative to the last clause: the festivals were to be celebrated at public cost.

4 **Gripho honor mansit]** As there were sixteen praetors it was a scarcely noticeable anomaly for an extra- ordinary one to hold office for a short time; it may indeed have been

practically convenient, when Domitian's tenure of the first place on the list was little more than nominal, to have some one willing and competent to undertake the routine business of the office. Domitian had perhaps held a similar super- numerary praetorship before Fron- tinus' resignation, see 3. 5.

**Repeti . . . cognitionem]** See 10. 3.

5 **indicium]** M. has *judicium*; of course the two words are liable to be confused, and the sense seems to require the correction; *judicium* could not be constructed with *ex- plesse*.

**Demetrio]** He was a friend of Thrasea's, *Ann.* xvi. 34. 1.

**ambitiosius]** Trying to gain a political reputation and (still more) a political following. Under the Republic this was the avowed motive, or at least the expected re-

commentariorum principalium potestatem senatui ficeret, per quos nosceret quem quisque accusandum poposcisset. Con-  
4 I sulendum tali super re principem respondit. Senatus, incho-  
antibus primoribus, jusjurandum concepit, quo certatim omnes  
magistratus, ceteri ut sententiam rogabantur, deos testes advo-  
cabant nihil ope sua factum quo cuiusquam salus laederetur,  
neque se praemium aut honorem ex calamitate civium cepisse,  
trepidis et verba jurisjurandi per varias artes mutantibus, quis  
flagitii conscientia inerat. Probabant religionem patres, per-  
2 jurium arguebant. Eaque velut censura in Sariolenum Vocu-  
lam et Nonium Attianum et Cestium Severum acerrime  
incubuit, crebris apud Neronem delationibus famosos. Sario-  
3 lenum et recens crimen urgebat, quod apud Vitellium molitus  
eadem foret. Nec destitit senatus manus intentare Voculae,  
donec curia excederet. Ad Paccium Africanum transgressi  
eum quoque proturbant, tamquam Neroni Scribonios fratres

ward, of judicial advocacy; under the empire it tended to fall into the hands of a profession in the modern sense, with professional reputation and professional emoluments. But there had hardly been time, and had not been favourable circumstances, for the growth of a professional code of honour, while it was expected of a professed philosopher that he should rise above the conventional standard of his order.

6 **principem]** Notice the opposition to *Caesare*.

CH. XLI. **inchoantibus primoribus]** Those first asked for their *sententia* not only proposed the form of the oath, but took it *loco sententiae*; they were followed by the magistrates (the *primores* would be *passed* magistrates, in fact consuls), and the rest of the senators in order.

**verba . . . mutantibus]** In the case of an ordinary *sententia*, it would have been enough to say, 'Quibus de rebus refers *P. Helvidio assentio*', but in taking a solemn oath, it was

necessary to repeat the words of it, and those who could not take the oath with truth as it stood tried to vary the words, as if by lapse of memory, into something that they could swear to without direct falsehood. But (§ 2) the assembly told them that it was a sign of grace to try to avoid perjury, but they had not succeeded even so.

2 **Eaque velut censura]** 'This quasi censorship,'—noting of unworthy names on the senatorial roll. There had been no real *censura* since that of Claudius and the elder Vitellius.

3 **manus intentare]** So *Ann. i. 27. 1.* No doubt literally 'shaking their fists at him,' as *Or. l.c.*, but here he accepts the view that waters it down into *minari se manus illaturos*.

**transgressi]** Also literally, 'walking across the house to him.'

**Scribonios]** *Ann. xiii. 48. 3.* We have not Tacitus' account of their death, which took place while

concordia opibusque insignes ad exitium monstravisset. Afri- + canus neque fateri audebat neque abnuere poterat : in Vibium Crispum, cuius interrogationibus fatigabatur, ultiro conversus, miscendo quae defendere nequibat, societate culpae invidiam declinavit.

42 Magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiaeque famam Vipstanus Messala adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate, ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari. Regulum subversa Crassorum et Orfiti domus in summum odium extulerat. Sponte 2 [ex SC.] accusationem subisse juvenis admodum, nec depellendi periculi, sed in spem potentiae videbatur. Et Sulpicia Praetextata, Crassi uxor, quattuorque liberi, si cognosceret Senatus, ultores aderant. Igitur Messala non causam neque 3 reum tueri, sed periculis fratris semet opponens, flexerat quos-

Nero was in Greece. They held command in Germany when they were recalled by him and obliged to kill themselves. Their names (see i. 14. 2) were Proculus and Rufus.

4 **Crispum**] ii. 10. 2, 6.

**miscendo, etc.**] 'By uniting Crispus' case with his own,' showing that one was as bad as the other, 'he avoided the reproach of his crime by sharing it with another.' Crispus was able and not unpopular, and apparently secure from attack : Africanus is therefore safe, not only from Crispus but from others, if he can show that Crispus stands or falls with him.

CH. XLII. **Messala**] iii. 9. 4, etc.

**senatoria aetate**] Twenty-five.

**fratre**] We do not know their parentage, but no doubt they were really brothers, Regulus having probably changed his name by adoption. iii. 9. 4 shows that Messala belonged to the great family whose name he bore.

**Crassorum**] Piso Licinianus' brothers, i. 48. 1. Are we to under-

stand that he had been concerned in both their deaths, or that, having caused the death of Crassus, he treated the whole family as enemies, as is specified in the case of his brutality towards Piso ? (Plin. *Ep.* i. 5.) Camerinus, who was certainly prosecuted by Marcellus, may have been Crassus' brother-in-law, ii. 72. 1. Nothing, however, is known of his death.

**Orfiti**] Supposed to be Ser. Cornelius, consul A.U.C. 804, A.D. 51.

2 **ex SC.** makes nonsense of the passage, as contradicting *sponte*. Two theories of its own origin are suggested. Either some one put *ex se* as a (rather barbarous) gloss on *sponte*, or some early reader, who had independent materials (the lost conclusion of the *Annals*?), contradicted Tacitus, saying that Regulus had done *ex SC.* what he was charged with having done *sponte*. Müller's *sponte Caesaris* gives a possible sense, if *Caesaris accusationes* can fairly mean 'accusations brought' (not 'by Caesar' but) 'at Caesar's instance.'

**depellendi periculi**] Probably

dam. Occurrit truci oratione Curtius Montanus, eo usque progressus, ut, post caedem Galbae, datam interfectori Pisonis pecuniam a Regulo, adpetitumque morsu Pisonis caput, objectaret. 'Hoc certe,' inquit, 'Nero non coëgit, nec dignitatem, 4 aut salutem, illa saevitia redemisti. Sane toleremus istorum defensiones, qui perdere alios, quam perclitari ipsi, maluerunt. Te securum reliquerat exsul pater, et divisa inter creditores bona, nondum honorum capax aetas: nihil quod ex te concupisceret Nero, nihil quod timeret. Libidine sanguinis et 5 hiatu praemiorum ignotum adhuc ingenium, et nullis defensionibus expertum, caede nobili inbuisti, cum ex funere Reipublicae raptis Consularibus spoliis, septuagies sestertio saginatus et sacerdotio fulgens, innoxios pueros, inlustres senes, conspicuas feminas eadem ruina prosterneres: cum segnitiam Neronis incusares, quod per singulas domos seque et delatores fatigaret: posse universum Senatum una voce subverti. Reti- 6 nete, Patres conscripti, et reservate hominem tam expediti

the same genitive of purpose as in 25. 3, though of course it might depend proleptically on *in stem.*

3 **Montanus**] *Ann.* xvi. 28. 2. It is disputed whether the *venter abdomine tardus* of *Juv.* iv. 107. was his or a namesake's.

**eo usque** implies that Tacitus thought the charge, if not merely malicious, yet so uncertain that it was an extreme measure to urge it.

4 **istorum**] *E.g. Marcellus*, 8. 4.

5 **inbuisti**] 'Made the first trial of.'

**ex funere Reip. raptis**] He plundered the corpse on the funeral pile. It is seldom that a metaphor is in Latin expanded into so complete a picture: it is ordinarily implied or hinted in a verb, not taken for granted in a substantive.

**Consularibus spoliis**] 'The spoils of a consular,' not 'which make you consul,' as he was *adhuc quaestorius*. Probably both Crassus and Orfitus

are meant: the former had been consul in A.D. 64, A.U.C. 817.

**saginatus**] A correction for *signatus*: probable, though various explanations are proposed for the ms. reading. 'With 7000 sestertia branded on his face' would be forcible, though the constr. involved is strangely compressed; but *signatus* seems never by itself to bear the meaning 'branded.' 'Pointed out as the possessor of' is as harsh in constr. and tame in sense: so that if *signatus* be right, Walther's translation '*ad cuius nomen in indice accusatorum signata esset illa pecuniae summa*' is on the whole the only one admissible.

**innoxios pueros . . . conspicuas feminas**] Sulpicia and her children.

**inlustres senes**] Probably Orfitus, though we do not know the date of his death. Crassus cannot have been very old.

6 **Retinete**] Montanus or Tacitus

consilii, ut omnis aetas instructa sit, et quomodo senes nostri Marcellum, Crispum, juvenes Regulum, imitentur. Invenit 7 etiam aemulos infelix nequitia. Quid si floreat vigeatque? Et quem adhuc Quaestorium offendere non audemus, Praetorium et Consularem visuri sumus? An Neronem extreum dominorum putatis? Idem crediderant, qui Tiberio, qui Gaio, 8 superstites fuerunt: cum interim intestabilior et saevior exortus est. Non timemus Vespasianum: ea Principis aetas, ea moderatio. Sed diutius durant exempla, quam mores. Elanguimus, Patres conscripti, nec jam ille Senatus sumus, qui, occiso Nerone, delatores et ministros more majorum puniendos flagitabat. Optimus est, post malum Principem, dies primus.'

43 Tanto cum assensu Senatus auditus est Montanus, ut spem caperet Helvidius, posse etiam Marcellum prosterni. Igitur a laude Cluvii Rifi orsus, qui, perinde dives et eloquentia clarus, nulli unquam sub Nerone periculum facessisset, crimine

has a reminiscence of Cic. *Verr.* II. ii. 31. 76: *retinet, retinet hominem in civitate, judices: parete et conser- vate, ut sit qui vobiscum res judicet, qui in senatu sine ulla cupiditate de bello et pace sententiam ferat.*

7 **An Neronem**, etc.] A prophecy of Domitian, between whom and Nero there was a recognised parallel. See *Agr.* 45. 2, *Juv.* iv. 30, *Tertull. Apol.* 5.

8 **intestabilior et saevior**] Gaius was worse than Tiberius, and Nero—Claudius cannot be meant—than Gaius. Nero was born in the first year of Gaius.

**aetas . . . moderatio**] His character is formed, and we know it to be good.

**exempla**] Or., after Burnouf, takes this word as explained by the next sentence, ‘*exempla quae edit senatus immortalis*,’ opposed to the *mores* of an individual. It seems more nat-

ural to take both words as applying to the individual emperor: his character only lasts his lifetime, but the individual things he has done are remembered, and may be used as precedents. What Nero had done, Domitian would see that he could do; it made no difference to his power, that Vespasian did not choose to do it.

**more majorum puniendos**] i.e. flogged to death. The same sentence was pronounced on Nero himself,—the only prospect, it is said, that availed to nerve him for suicide.

**Optimus . . . primus**] Sometimes taken ironically, ‘people are most sanguine then.’ Rather, that is an opportunity for reform that should be made the most of.

**CH. XLIII. Rifi**] i. 8. 2, etc.

**perinde**] Sc. *atque Marcellus.*

**crimine simul exemploque**] At

simul exemploque Eprium urgebat, ardentibus Patrum animis. Quod ubi sensit Marcellus, velut excedens curia: 'Imus,'<sup>2</sup> inquit, 'Prisce, et relinquimus tibi Senatum tuum: regna, praesente Caesare.' Sequebatur Vibius Crispus: ambo infensi, voltu diverso; Marcellus minacibus oculis, Crispus renidens: donec ad cursu amicorum retraherentur. Cum glisceret certamen, hinc multi bonique, inde pauci et validi, pertinacibus 44 odiis tenderent, consumptus per discordiam dies. Proximo Senatu, inchoante Caesare, de abolendo dolore iraque, et priorum temporum necessitatibus, censuit Mucianus prolixe pro accusatoribus: simul eos, qui coeptam, dein omissam, actionem repeterent, monuit sermone molli et tamquam rogaret. Patres coeptatam libertatem, postquam obviam itum,<sup>2</sup> omisere. Mucianus, ne sperni Senatus judicium, et cunctis sub Nerone admissis data in punitas videretur, Octavium Sagittam et Antistium Sosianum, Senatorii ordinis, egressos exsilium, in easdem insulas redegit. Octavius Pontiam Postumiam, stupro cognitam et nuptias suas abnuentem, in potens amoris interfecrat; Sosianus pravitate morum multis exitiosus.

once accusing, and illustrating his accusation by the parallel but opposite course of Rufus.

<sup>2</sup> *renidens*] Not always of a very sincere or pleasant smile, *Ann.* iv. 60. 3, *falsum renidens voltu*, *Cat.* 39. 2, *Egnatius, quod candidos habet dentes Renidet usque quaque*. But Crispus must have been a good-natured man, *Juv.* iv. 81, *sqq.*

CH. XLIV. *Proximo Senatu*] The same as *proximo die*, 10. 3.

*Inchoante*] 'Opening the subject,' as 41. 1. The rhetorical treatment of general principles, on which the Senate had already (10. 1) indicated its opinion, is intrusted to Domitian: to apply them practically to the cases of individuals, without incurring a share of their odium, needed the maturer skill of Mucianus.

*eos, qui . . . repeterent*] *He* *vidius*, 6. 1, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Antistium*] He had interfered as tribune in behalf of some people arrested for disorder in the theatre, *Ann.* xiii. 28. 1, and had been banished for satires on Nero, *ib.* xiv. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Octavius Pontiam Postumiam*] The details of this Old Bailey tragedy are given in *Ann.* xiii. 44. Two things are noticeable—that the abolition of capital punishment, dating from the late Republic, remained in force for ordinary crimes, —it had needed the courage of Thrasea to prevent Sosianus being worse treated than Octavius: and that the combination of two gentle names, found in the second century among men, already appears among

Ambo gravi Senatus consulto damnati pulsique, quamvis concesso aliis reditu, in eadem poena retenti sunt. Nec ideo + lenita erga Mucianum invidia. Quippe Sosianus ac Sagitta viles, etiam si reverterentur: accusatorum ingenia et opes et exercita malis artibus potentia timebantur.

45 Reconciliavit paulisper studia Patrum habita in Senatu cognitio secundum veterem morem. Manlius Patruitus, Senator, pulsatum se in colonia Seniensi coetu multitudinis et jussu Magistratum, querebatur: nec finem injuriae hic stetisse: planctum et lamenta et supremorum imaginem praesenti sibi circumdata cum contumeliis et probris, quae in Senatum universum jacerentur. Vocati, qui arguebantur. Et,

women. The earliest instance is said to be Milonia Caesonia, the last wife of Gaius. It should however be remembered that we have a Pontius Cominius in *Liv.* v. 46.

**gravi]** Which commanded, not so much public approval, as the sincere moral approval of the Senators themselves.

**damnati pulsique** refers to the time of their original condemnation, *retenti* to the ratification of it now, under the influence of Mucianus.

**CH. XLV. Reconciliavit, etc.]** The Senate wished to feel itself the supreme court of justice 'over all persons and in all causes:' it was rightly ashamed of being coerced as it had been by Nero, and desired to abolish the memory of its subservience by reprisals on his instruments. When Mucianus refused to allow a counter-proscription, they felt this as a proof that their independence was not restored: his allowing their sentence to remain valid in non-political cases, or where their present deliberate judgment approved their former decision, did not satisfy them. But now there came a new case, involving the dignity of the Order, and that was referred to

them for trial with all due formalities; and, ridiculous as the case was, it was enough for them. We scarcely know whether to say that Tacitus has no sense of humour, or to praise him for keeping his countenance so completely in telling such a story.

**Patruitus]** The name does not occur elsewhere, whence Lipsius and others are inclined to read *Patruinus*.

**Senator]** When used as here and in *Ann.* iii. 36. 2, as the title of a man whom the context proves to have been a member of the Senate, it is explained to mean 'a private member,' one who was not even *quaestor* or *quaestorius*.

**pulsatum]** Defined by Ulpian as an assault without bodily harm.

**Seniensi]** The place was no doubt Sena (now Siena) in Etruria, not Sena Gallica, nor Senia in Dalmatia. But MS. authority here and in *Plin.* iii. 5. 8, is held to establish that the anomalous form *Seniensis* instead of *Senensis* is used of the first-mentioned town.

**planctum . . . imaginem]** A sham funeral. Some suppose that *pulsatum* implies here something beyond the technical legal limit

cognita causa, in convictos vindicatum. Additumque senatus consultum quo Seniensium plebes modestiae admoneretur. Isdem diebus Antonius Flamma Cyrenensibus damnatur lege repetundarum, et exsilio ob saevitiam.

46 Inter quae militaris seditio prope exarsit. Praetorianam militiam repetebant a Vitellio dimissi, pro Vespasiano congregati: et lectus in eandem spem, e legionibus miles promissa stipendia flagitabat: ne Vitelliani quidem sine multa caede pelli poterant; sed immensa pecunia tanta vis hominum retinenda erat. Ingressus castra Mucianus, quo rectius stipendia singulorum spectaret, suis cum insignibus armisque victores constituit, modicis inter se spatiis discretos. Tum Vitelliani, quos apud Bovillas in ditionem acceptos memoravimus,

defined above—that he was really hurt, and confined to his bed, and that when he left his house, he was treated as being on the way to his grave.

**Cyrenensibus]** A *datus* *commodi*, 'on the petition of.'

**et exsilio]** A zeugma in the mildest sense: either *damnatur lege rep.*, or *damnatur exsilio* would have been a regular constr., but it is rather harsh to have the two joined as co-ordinate. The sense is, that he would not have been banished, but only had to refund, unless he had added cruelty to rapacity.

CH. XLVI. a V. *dimissi*] ii. 67. 1.

**lectus . . . legionibus]** 'Induced to serve in hopes of being drafted from the legions into that force.' There is no need to alter the reading to *inlectus*.

**immensa pecunia tanta vis**, etc.] A leaf had at this point got transposed in the archetype of M.; the fact is noted in the margin, but there is some difficulty in determining the exact beginning and end of the transposed passage. The sequence in M. is—*sed immensa pecunia \*ferunt ne criminantium*

*nuntiis* (52. 1—53. 5) *magnificentiae defuisse crede\** *tanta vis hominum* (46. 1 *fin.*—52. 1 *init.*) *apud patrem orasse\** *dicebatur*. Madvig pointed out that if the transposed pages began and ended at the points marked by asterisks, there is no need to suppose a *lacuna* or considerable corruption, only the copyist, having lost the *ferunt* in 52. 1, on which *Titum . . . orasse* depended, constructed *dicebatur* out of the last two syllables of *credebatur*, which he found adjoining. Early editors read here *immensa pecunia ferebatur* or *dicebatur qua tanta vis*, etc., *dicebatur* in 52. 1, and (sometimes) *credimus* in 53. 5.

**2 stipendia singulorum]** The amount of pay due to each individual, in proportion, not only to the length of his service absolutely, but to the length of time he had been in the Praetorians.

**spectaret]** Any one but Tacitus would have said *nosceret*, but perhaps the word contributes a picturesque touch to the story; he not only inquired into the service they had passed through, but saw the proofs of it.

**memoravimus]** 2. 4-6.

ceterique per urbem et urbi vicina conquisiti producuntur prope intecto corpore. Eos Mucianus diduci, et Germanicum 3 Britannicumque militem, ac si qui aliorum exercituum, separatim adsistere jubet. Illos primus statim aspectus obstupefecerat: cum ex diverso velut aciem, telis et armis trucem, semet clausos nudosque et inluvie deformes, aspicerent. Ut 4 vero huc illuc distrahi coepere, metus per omnes et praecipua Germanici militis formido, tamquam ea separatione ad caedem destinarentur: prensare commanipularium pectora, cervicibus innecti, suprema oscula petere, ne desererentur soli, neu pari causa disparem fortunam paterentur: modo Mucianum, modo absentem Principem, postremum caelum ac Deos obtestari: donec Mucianus, cunctos ejusdem sacramenti, ejusdem Imperatoris milites appellans, falso timori obviam iret. Namque 5 et victor exercitus clamore lacrimas eorum juvabat. Isque finis illa die. Paucis post diebus, adloquentem Domitianum firmati jam excepere. Spernunt oblatos agros: militiam et stipendia orant. Preces erant, sed quibus contradici non posset. Igitur in Praetorium accepti. Dein, quibus aetas et 6 justa stipendia, dimissi cum honore, alii ob culpam; sed

ceterique . . . conquisiti] i.  
2.

3 si qui aliorum exercitum] As the Pannonians of ii. 14. 3.

4 praecipua . . . formido] They thought that they were to be held criminally responsible for the mutiny that commenced the war, while the rest were to be pardoned for having acknowledged Vitellius when *de facto* emperor.

communipularium] A man admitted into Vitellius's praetorians from the German army is supposed to be parting from one who had served with him in the praetorians, but came originally from one of (suppose) the British legions.

ne desererentur . . . paterentur] Or. is probably right in

taking these words as dependent, not on *obtestari*, but on the *idea* of supplication contained in the passionate gestures.

pari causa] It is certainly wrong to insert *in* before or between these words, but it seems too much to say with Or. that they are an *abl. abs.*, 'when their case was the same.' At the same time, Tacitus' custom of omitting prepositions does make his ablatives approximate to the modal or so-called absolute construction.

6 aetas et justa stipendia] A man was discharged after fifty years of age or twenty of service. See *Ann. i. 78. 2*, for the circumstances under which the latter term was settled.

carptim ac singuli: quo tutissimo remedio consensu multitudo  
 47 dinis extenuatur. Ceterum verane pauperie, an uti videretur,  
 actum in Senatu, ut sexcenties sestertium a privatis mutuum  
 acciperetur. Praepositusque ei curae Pompeius Silvanus.  
 Nec multo post necessitas abiit, sive omissa simulatio. Abro-  
 gati inde, legem ferente Domitiano, consulatus, quos Vitellius  
 dederat. Funusque censorium Flavio Sabino ductum: magna  
 documenta instabilis Fortunae, summaque et ima miscentis.

48 Sub idem tempus L. Piso Proconsul interficitur. Ea de  
 caede quam verissime expediam, si pauca supra repetiero, ab  
 initio causisque talium facinorum non absurdia. Legio in  
 Africa auxiliaque tutandis Imperii finibus, sub D. Augusto  
 Tiberioque Principibus, Proconsuli parebant. Mox G. Caesar, 2  
 turbidus animi, ac M. Silanum, obtinentem Africam, metuens,  
 ablatam Proconsuli legionem, misso in eam rem Legato tra-  
 didit. Aequatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus et, mixtis  
 utriusque mandatis, discordia quaesita, auctaque pravo certa-

**carptim ac singuli]** Not by centuries or cohorts, but as individuals, and one by one in turn, not grouped together for trial before the sentence was pronounced.

**Ch. XLVII. uti videretur]** To silence importunate claimants. Compare Suet. *Vesp.* 16, who says that he declared *quadringenties milia opus esse, ut resp. stare posset.*

**2 Abrogati, etc.]** Vespasian treated Galba as a legitimate emperor, but both Otho and Vitellius as usurpers. But while acknowledging neither, he had no need to take actually hostile measures against Otho's memory; he had not, like Vitellius (iii. 55. 2), fore stalled his successor's patronage; and to do so might have alienated his own best troops.

**Funusque censorium**] *Ann.* iv. 15. 3.

**summaque et ima]** His honourable burial contrasted with his miserable death.

**Ch. XLVIII. L. Piso]** In c. 38 we had the suspicions against him mentioned, but, up to that time at least, we are assured that they were groundless. Pliny (*Ep.* iii. 7.) positively asserts his innocence up to the last.

**taliūm]** Executions prompted, not by discreditable motives nor by merely personal jealousy, but by suspicions too vague to be treated judicially, or to justify, on judicial principles, what was actually done. Vespasian's government was generally mild and beneficial, but he left a doubtful reputation with the senatorial order, because such sacrifices to public security were hard to justify morally.

**2 turbidus animi]** Anxious to change for change's sake. It scarcely suggests the idea of insanity, as the *turbata mens* of *Ann.* xiii. 3. 6, is doubtless meant to do.

**beneficiorum numerus]** In the

mine. Legatorum vis adolevit diuturnitate officii, vel quia 3 minoribus major aemulandi cura; Proconsulum splendidissimus quisque securitati magis, quam potentiae consulebant.

49 Sed tum legionem in Africa regebat Valerius Festus, sumptuosaes adolescentiae, neque modica cupiens, et adfinitate Vitellii anxius. Is crebris sermonibus tentaveritne Pisonem ad res novas, an tentanti restiterit, incertum; quoniam secreto eorum nemo adfuit, et, occiso Pisone, plerique ad gratiam interfectoris inclinavere. Nec ambigitur, provinciam et militem alienato erga Vespasianum animo fuisse: et quidam e Vitellianis, urbe profugi, ostentabant Pisoni nutantes Gallias, paratam Germaniam, pericula ipsius et in pace suspecta tutius bellum. Inter quae Claudius Sagitta, Praefectus alae Petrinae, 3 prospera navigatione praevenit Papirium, Centurionem, a Muciano missum, adseveravitque mandata interficiendi Pisonis Centurioni data. Cecidisse Galerianum, consobrinum ejus 4 generumque. Unam in audacia spem salutis. Sed duo itinera audendi; seu mallet statim arma, seu petita navibus Gallia, Ducem se Vitellianis exercitibus ostenderet. Nihil ad 5 ea moto Pisone, centurio a Muciano missus, ut portum Carthaginis attigit, magna voce laeta Pisoni omnia, tamquam Principi, continuare; obvios et subitae rei miraculo attonitos, ut eadem adstreperent, hortari. Volgus credulum ruere in 6

technical sense of the term, 'the patronage,' whence the feudal and ecclesiastical meanings.

3 **diuturnitate**] For the legates held office during pleasure, the proconsul for one or two years.

**officii**] See on i. 20. 3.

CH. XLIX. **neque . . . et**] Correlative.

**adfinitate**] Was he a brother of Valerius Asiaticus? He had before played fast and loose with Vespasian, ii. 98. 1.

**crebris sermonibus**] These are certain, their purport is not. Com-

pare i. 7. 2, iii. 62. 4.

2 **Nec ambigitur**, etc.] ii. 97. 4.

**erga**] Usually of *friendly* relations, but as here in ii. 99. 5.

**urbe profugi**] Having escaped from the battle and massacres there.

**tutius bellum**] We have had the same sentiment in i. 21. 6, ii.

77. 5.

4 **Galerianum**] Sup. 2. 3.

5 **laeta P. omnia**] See on ii. 74.

1. There is the same alternative of reading *omnia* here as there.

**continuare**] Crying that incessantly, and nothing else.

forum, praesentiam Pisonis exposcere. Gaudio clamoribusque cuncta miscebant, indiligentia veri et adulandi libidine. Piso, indicio Sagittae, vel insita modestia, non in publicum egressus est, neque se studiis volgi permisit. Centurionemque per- 7 cunctatus, postquam quaesitum sibi crimen caedemque comperit, animadverti in eum jussit, haud perinde spe vitae, quam ira in percussorem, quod idem ex interactoribus Clodii Macri, cruentas Legati sanguine manus ad caedem Proconsulis retulisset. Anxio deinde edicto Carthaginiensibus increpitis, ne 8 solita quidem munia usurpabat, clausus intra domum, ne qua 50 motus novi causa vel forte oreretur. Sed, ubi Festo conster- natio volgi, centurionis supplicium, veraque et falsa, more famae, in majus innotuere, equites in necem Pisonis mittit. Illi raptim vecti, obscuro adhuc coptae lucis, domum Pro- 2 consulis intrumpunt, destrictis gladiis: et magna pars, Pisonis ignari, quod Poenos auxiliares Maurosque in eam caedem delegerat, haud procul cubiculo, obvium forte servum, quisnam et ubi esset Piso? interrogavere. Servus egregio mendacio, 3 se Pisonem esse, respondit: ac statim obtruncatur. Nec multo post Piso interficitur. Namque aderat, qui nosceret, Baebius Massa, e Procuratoribus Africae, jam tunc optimo cuique exitiosus, et in causas malorum, quae mox tulimus,

<sup>7</sup> *Macri* i. 7. 1.

**CH. L. consternatio**] Used similarly of a confusion not paralysing activity nor proceeding from terror

*Ann.* i. 39. 5, *Liv.* xxxiv. 2, etc.

**2 Poenos auxiliares Maurosque**] Romans might have been influenced by Vespasian's unpopularity to be willing to encourage a rival to him, of distinguished and not unpopular name. Perhaps the likeliest explanation of the discrepancy (see on ii. 97. 4) between our authorities as to the character of Vespasian's African administration is, that he treated the poor Africans (*Juv.* viii. 120) justly and mildly, but made

Romans pay him for his abstinence, not always justly.

**quisnam**] It seems intolerably harsh in construction, and irrelevant to the sense to suppose a change of subject, 'who he was, and where Piso was.' On the other hand, it seems difficult (with *Or.*) to make the word mean 'what Piso was like'; rather 'which' of the people in the house, and 'where,' in it or out of it.

**3 Massa**] *Agr.* 45. 1, *Juv.* i. 35, *Plin. Ep.* iii. 4, vii. 33, etc.

**e Procuratoribus**] Apparently for this large and important province there was more than one.

saepius redditurus. Festus Adrumeto, ubi speculabundus sub- 4  
stiterat, ad legionem contendit, Praefectumque castrorum,  
Cetronium Pisanum, vinciri jussit, proprias ob simultates:  
sed Pisonis satellitem vocabat, militesque et Centuriones quos-  
dam punit, alios praemiis adfecit: neutrum ex merito, sed ut  
obpressisse bellum crederetur. Mox Oeensium Leptitano- 5  
rumque discordias componit, quae, raptu flugum et pecorum  
inter agrestes, modicis principiis, jam per arma atque acies  
exercebantur. Nam populus Oensis, multitudine inferior,  
Garamantas exciverat, gentem indomitam et inter accolas  
latrociniis secundam. Unde artae Leptitanis res, lateque 6  
vastatis agris intra moenia trepidabant: donec, interventu  
cohortium alarumque, fusi Garamantes et recepta omnis praeda,  
nisi quam vagi per inaccessa mapalium ulterioribus vendi-  
derant.

51 At Vespasiano, post Cremonensem pugnam et prosperos  
undique nuntios, cecidisse Vitellium, multi cujusque ordinis,  
pari audacia fortunaque hibernum mare adgressi, nuntiavere.  
Aderant legati Regis Vologesi, quadraginta Parthorum equitum  
milia offerentes. Magnificum laetumque, tantis sociorum 2  
auxiliis ambiri, neque indigere. Gratiae Vologeso actae,  
mandatumque, ut legatos ad Senatum mitteret et pacem esse  
sciret. Vespasianus, in Italiam resque urbis intentus, adver- 3  
sam de Domitiano famam accipit: tamquam terminos aetatis

5 **Garamantas**] They were a wild, unsocial, but unwarlike race in Herodotus' time, iv. 174. According to Pliny (*H. N.* v. 5. 38), their tactics now were rather to avoid the enemy than to fight him, stopping the wells in the line of march; we remember Hdt. iv. 120-1, in a different climate, but an analogous state of civilisation.

Ch. L1. **Vespasiano**] At Alexandria, iii. 48. 4.

2 **ad Senatum**] A compliment to

the Senate, not meaningless in Vespasian himself. Possibly also it was required by the precedent set in Augustus' negotiations with Parthia. Augustus may have thought it necessary to disguise from foreign powers the fact of a revolution having taken place at Rome.

3 **terminos**] The force of the word is defined by *concessa* following, 'that he was going beyond the limits of what could be allowed to his youth and his position.'

et concessa filio egrederetur. Igitur validissimam exercitus partem Tito tradit, ad reliqua Judaici belli perpetranda. <sup>4</sup>

52 Titum, antequam digrederetur, multo apud patrem sermone orâsse ferunt, ne criminantium nuntiis temere accenderetur: integrumque se ac placabilem filio praestaret. Non legiones, non classes, perinde firma imperii munimenta, quam numerum liberorum. Nam amicos tempore, fortuna, cupidinibus aliquando aut erroribus, inminui, transferri, desinere: suum cuique sanguinem indiscretum, sed maxime Principibus: quorum prosperis et alii fruantur, adversa ad junctissimos pertineant. Ne fratribus quidem mansuram concordiam, ni 3 parens exemplum praebuisset. Vespasianus, haud aequo Domitiano mitigatus, quam Titi pietate gaudens, bono esse animo jubet, belloque et armis Rempublicam attollere: sibi pacem domumque curae fore. Tum celerrimas navium, frumento onustas, saevo adhuc mari committit. Quippe tanto discrimine urbs nutabat, ut decem haud amplius dierum frumentum in horreis fuerit, cum a Vespasiano commeatus subvenere.

53 Curam restituendi Capitolii in L. Vestinum confert, Eques-

CH. LII. Titum . . . ferunt] See on 46. 1 for the evidence that this is the right reading. *Titum . . . dicebatur*, it may be admitted, is a frequent Tacitean construction; see on i. 50. 1, etc.

2 suum . . . indiscretum] 'Blood is an indissoluble relation.'

3 belloque et armis . . . pacem domumque] The sense is partly ἔργα νέων, βουλαὶ δὲ μέσων—Titus is qualified for a general, but not for a statesman or judge. At the same time, he plainly means to reassure his son, telling him that his administration, both political and domestic, shall be mild and moderate: hence the sense of *domum* is not so much '*Domitianum coercede*' (Or.) as 'I will not do him

any harm.' *Numerum liberorum* in § 1 almost seems as though Titus were afraid he would be put to death.

4 mari committit] Compare *Ann.* xii. 43. 3. Statesmen affected to consider it dangerous to allow Italy to depend on imported corn (*Ann.* iii. 54. 6): civil war made the danger a reality, *iii.* 48. 4, 5.

CH. LIII. Curam . . . confert] It has been much questioned, whether Tacitus' account of the restoration can be reconciled with those of Suetonius and Dio: who make Vespasian start the work in person, and that not merely symbolically, but carrying out a load of rubbish on his shoulders. There is certainly nothing inconsistent with

tris ordinis virum, sed auctoritate famaque inter proceres. Ab eo contracti Haruspices monuere, ut reliquiae prioris delubri in paludes aveherentur: templum isdem vestigiis sisteretur. Nolle Deos, mutari veterem formam. Undecimo <sup>2</sup> Kal. Julias, serena luce spatium omne, quod templo dicabatur, evinctum vittis coronisque. Ingressi milites, quis fausta nomina, felicibus ramis. Dein virgines Vestales, cum pueris puellisque patrimis matrimisque, aqua [trimis] e fontibus amni-

this in his having appointed Vestinus to the superintendence of the works, and from this single sentence it might naturally seem that Vespasian made the appointment personally, not by message. But Tacitus recurs in c. 68 to the supremacy of Mucianus and Domitian at Rome, and in 81 *sqq.* to the events of Vespasian's sojourn at Alexandria. Having at least three threads of narrative in hand (events at Rome, in Germany, and in the East), it is perhaps not surprising that he sometimes inadvertently, as sometimes knowingly, follows one a little way and has to return to gather up the rest.

**Equestris ordinis virum]** Identified with Vestinus of Vienna, whom Claudius, in his speech (of which we have Tacitus' version in *Ann. xi. 24*) on the grant of the right of honours to the Gauls, calls *equestris ordinis ornamentum*.

**in paludes]** The marshes of Ostia were the general receptacle of rubbish; so in *Ann. xv. 43. 4* we hear of them as receiving the ruins of the Neronian conflagration. But here the sense is, that the hallowed stones are to be put out of the way, not profaned by application to any fresh use.

**2 quis fausta nomina]** With names whose etymological meaning was of good omen: ' *talia sunt Salvinus, Longinus, Statorius, Valerius*,' Lips. Compare Cic. *de Div.* i. 45. 102, etc.

**felicibus ramis]** Not in the general sense of 'fruitful,' in which the epithet seems to be used in poetry, but in a technical ritual meaning (Macrobius, ii. 16, iii. 30), acceptable to the gods of heaven. Laurel, myrtle, beech, and the various kinds of oak, though the former at least could not be called fruit-bearing trees, were *felices*. Contrast the *infelix arbor* on which criminals were to be hung, *Liv. i. 26*.

**patrimis matrimisque]** Strictly, according to Servius on *Georg. i. 31*, not only having both parents living, but born in confarreate marriage. Such marriages had now become very rare, *Ann. iv. 16. 2*; there is some support for the view, that the condition was treated only as requiring that they should be of patrician birth, and that children of *senators*, who had both parents living, were assumed to be eligible. But the Emperors made efforts from time to time to revive confarreatio, and with the extension of the Patriciate may have attained sufficient success to secure their object, the qualification of a few men, women, and children for certain religious services.

**aqua e fontibus]** *Trimis*, inserted in M., is a manifest *διττογραφία* from the epithets just above: it seems therefore better to omit it altogether than to correct it into *vivis*.

busque hausta, perluere. Tum Helvidius Priscus Praetor, 3 praeunte Plautio Aeliano Pontifice, lustrata suovetaurilibus area et super cespitem redditis extis, Jovem, Junonem, Minervam, praesidesque Imperii Deos precatus, uti copta prosperarent, sedesque suas, pietate hominum inchoatas, Divina ope attollerent: vittas, quis ligatus lapis innexique funes erant, contigit. Simul ceteri Magistratus et Sacerdotes et Senatus 4 et Eques et magna pars populi, studio laetitiaque connixi, saxum ingens traxere. Passimque injectae fundamentis argenti aurique stipes et metallorum primitiae, nullis fornacibus victae, sed ut cognuntur. Praedixere Haruspices, ne temeraretur 5 opus saxo aurove, in aliud destinato. Altitudo aedibus adiecta. Id solum religio adnuere et prioris templi magnificentiae defuisse credebatur.

**3 Helvidius Priscus Praetor]** Why not Domitian, *praetor consulari imperio*, 3. 5, and *praetor urbanus*, 39. 2 n., even if Vespasian was still absent? Had he already started for the German frontier? Or did his devotion to the Capitoline Jove (iii. 74. 2) awake later in life? Or is it not possible, that the religious traditions declared that *Is qui Praetor maximus* was the proper person to do it; and that *praetor* was treated in the modern sense, not the older one in which it was synonymous with *consul*, lest the dictatorship of D. Julius, first conferred on him by that falsification of history, should be discredited? Priscus was of course older than Domitian, and may have happened to be the oldest praetor of the year.

**Aeliano Pontifice]** He also perhaps officiated as the oldest of the College. An inscription commemorates him as having commanded a legion under Tiberius in Germany, and served in Britain with Claudius.

**redditis]** A ritual term, Virg.

*Georg.* ii. 194, *lancibus et pandis fumantia redditimus exta.* Servius in loc. says, *reddi dicebantur exta, cum probata et elixa* (1 Sam. ii. 13-15) *arae superponebantur.*

**Jovem, Junonem, Minervam]** These three deities were associated in the Capitoline Temple: it appears from coins of the Flavii that more importance was given to the two subordinate ones in their restoration than formerly.

**vittas . . . contigit]** He symbolically 'laid the stone,' but the real work of fixing it was done, not by machinery or by common labourers, but by enthusiastic volunteers. Dio tells us that Vespasian's example in beginning the work encouraged many nobles to do likewise, and stimulated the enthusiasm of the rest: see on § 1.

**4 studio laetitiaque connixi]** Cf. Virg. *Aen.* ii. 239, *junemque manu contingere gaudent.*

**5 Id solum . . . credebatur]** See on 46. 1 for an account of the confused state of the ms. here. Reading *credebatur*, there should

54 Audita interim per Gallias Germaniasque mors Vitellii duplicaverat bellum. Nam Civilis, omissa dissimulatione, in Populum Romanum ruere. Vitellianae legiones vel extermum servitium, quam Imperatorem Vespasianum, malle. Galli 2 sustulerant animos, eandem ubique exercitum nostrorum fortunam rati: volgato rumore, a Sarmatis Dacisque Moesica ac Pannonica hiberna circumsideri. Paria de Britannia finge-  
bantur. Sed nihil aequa, quam incendium Capitolii, ut finem 3 Imperio adesse crederent, impulerat. Captam olim a Gallis urbem: sed, integra Jovis sede, mansisse Imperium. Fatali nunc igne signum caelstis irae datum, et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi, superstitione vana Druidae cane-  
bant. Incesseratque fama, primores Galliarum, 4

probably be no stop after *adnuere*, though there is a certain zeugma in making *id solum* do double duty, as object to *adnuere* and subject to *credebatur*. With the reading *cre-  
ditum, adnuere* must be a historical inf. The old Temple was dwarfed by the house of Posides, a freedman of Claudius, Juv. xiv. 9. 1. When finally completed under Domitian, the height of the new one seems to have been really striking:—*Ille* (Domitianus) . . . *Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rufe, Et jungit nostro templorum culmina caelo*, Sil. It. iii. 622. 4.

CH. LIV. 2 *eandem ubique*] They thought that, just as the troops needed for the defence of the Rhine had been drawn off to fight for Vitellius, so those needed for the defence of the Danube had gone off to fight against him. But the second battle of Bedriacum, unlike the first, happened in time to avert the danger, iii. 46. 3, 4.

*fingebantur*] There was not even as much foundation for the rumour as in the Illyrian provinces.

3 *finem Imperio adesse*] The dat. is here quite natural, as de-

pending on *adesse*: but Or. refers to *Ann. ii. 21. 3, solam interneconem gentis finem bello fore*, as showing that it may depend on *finem*.

**Fatali**] It had not happened *fato*, i.e. naturally, but it *portended* fate.

**Transalpinis**] Perhaps it is Tacitus rather than the Druids, to whom the nations of Europe seem divided by nature into the civilised region of the Mediterranean and the barbarians beyond the mountains.

**Druidae**] They had been proscribed by Tiberius, perhaps after the revolt of Sacrovir—whose Latin or latinised name is conjectured to indicate that he belonged to the sacred caste. But they continued to exist and to be known, though the public exercise of their religion might be forbidden: Ausonius speaks of several of his contemporaries as of druidical descent. In Ireland, Sir H. S. Maine conjectures that the druidical order passed into the Bretons, whom we find holding a similar authority in Christian times.

4 **primores . . . missos**] The sense of the words seems uncertain: they have been understood to mean (1) Gallic chiefs at Rome, sent by

ab Othone adversus Vitellium missos, antequam digrederentur, pepigisse, ne deessent libertati, si Populum Romanum continua bellorum civilium series et interna mala fregissent.

55 Ante Flacci Hordeonii caedem, nihil prorupit, quo conjuratio intellegeretur. Interfecto Hordeonio, commeavere nuntii inter Civilem Classicumque, Praefectum alae Treverorum. Classicus nobilitate opibusque ante alios. Regium illi genus et pace belloque clara origo. Ipse e majoribus suis hostis Populi Romani quam socius jactabat. Miscuere sese Julius Tutor <sup>2</sup> et Julius Sabinus: hic Trevir, hic Lingonus. Tutor ripae Rheni a Vitellio praefectus: Sabinus, super insitam vanitatem, falsae stirpis gloria incendebat: proaviam suam D. Julio, per Gallias bellanti, corpore atque adulterio placuisse. Hi <sup>3</sup> secretis sermonibus animos ceterorum scrutari. Ubi, quos idoneos rebantur, conscientia obstrinxere, in colonia Agrippinensi in domum privatam convenientiunt. Nam publice civitas talibus inceptis abhorrebat: attamen interfuerunt quidam Ubi-

Otho to their own homes, there to oppose Vitellius, (2) Gallic chiefs summoned by Otho from their homes to the seat of war against Vitellius, (3) Gauls among the senators sent by Otho (i. 74. 3) to meet Vitellius. (1) is certainly the most natural interpretation of the words as they stand, though hardest to fit into the history.

Cit. LV. *Classicumque*] ii. 14. 2.  
**e majoribus... jactabat**] Tacitus has here accumulated three eccentricities of construction: *e majoribus* in the sense of 'jam inde a m.', the omission (very frequent with him) of *potius* before *quam*, and the ultra-Grecism of *hostis jactabat* for *se hostem jactabat*. To avoid the first and last, some take *hostis* as an acc. pl., correcting *socios* to match—'those of his ancestors who had been enemies, rather than those who had been allies.' The Treveri had not been more desperate enemies to Caesar

than the rest of the Gauls; but Classicus may well have been descended from a chief, perhaps Indutiomarus, who had distinguished himself in the war, and never submitted.

**2 Lingonus**] Though the pl. is always *Lingones*, this form of the sing. is found also in Mart. viii. 75. 2, and in an inscr.

**ripare... praefectus**] Probably a sort of coast-guard officer—not having a jurisdiction independent of the Legates of Upper and Lower Germany.

**proaviam... placuisse**] Epexeg. of *falsae stirpis gloria*. *Proavia* is to be understood literally, though the word does not suggest the same ludicrous idea as the English translation.

**3 in colonia**] The word *colonia* is treated in constr. as still an appellation, though *Colonia Agrippinensis* is practically a pr. n.

**Ubiorum**] The native name of

orum Tungrorumque. Sed plurima vis penes Treveros ac Lingonas : nec tulere moras consultandi. Certatim proclamant : furere discordiis Populum Romanum, caesas legiones, vastatam Italiam, capi cum maxime urbem, omnis exercitus suis quemque bellis distineri. Si Alpes praesidiis firmentur, coalita libertate, dispecturas Gallias, quem virium suarum 56 terminum velint. Haec dicta pariter probataque. De reliquis Vitelliani exercitus dubitavere. Plerique interficiendos censebant, turbidos, infidos, sanguine Ducum pollutos. Vicit <sup>2</sup> ratio parcendi : ne, sublata spe veniae, pertinaciam accenderent. Adliendos potius in societatem. Legatis tantum legionum interfectis, ceterum volgus, conscientia scelerum et spe impunitatis, facile accessurum. Ea primi consilii forma. <sup>3</sup> Missique per Gallias concitores belli. Simulatum ipsis obsequium, quo incautiorem Vocabam opprimerent. Nec defuere, qui Voculae nuntiarent. Sed vires ad coercendum deerant, infrequentibus infidisque legionibus. Inter ambiguos milites <sup>4</sup> et occultos hostes, optimum e praesentibus ratus, mutua dissimulatione et isdem, quibus petebatur, grassari ; in coloniam

the tribe constituted into the *civitas Agrippinensium*.

<sup>4</sup> *capi*] The storming of the Capitol by the Vitellians, and of the city by the Flavians are probably both meant : hence the present, ‘the city is *constantly being* captured.’

*distineri*] Not to be altered to *detin.* : all the armies, each having its own war on its hands (that just ended in Italy against Vitellius, the supposed one on the Danube, the elements of one in Pontus, and the actual one in Judaea) were not only kept occupied, but kept apart.

*dispecturas*, or *discepturas* : both readings are older than M. : that of the text is the most natural.

CH. LVI. *Adliendos . . . societatem*] They had given signs that they were not unwilling, 54.

**Ea primi consilii forma]** ‘This was the outline of their original plan,’ C. and B. But M. has *consilii* ; which must mean, ‘this was the purport of the first meeting’ of the Gallic Empire—treating the hole-and-corner conspiracy as a national assembly, by way of a sneer at the nation.

**3 Simulatum . . . opprimerent]** It is only fair to Classicus and his associates to remember that Arminius had to display quite equal treachery towards Varus, to establish the position of a national hero, which he has held for eighteen centuries and a half, and which Tacitus himself allows to him.

*infrequentibus*] Skeleton battalions, 14. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *isdem, quibus petebatur*] No

Agrippinensem descendit. Illuc Claudius Labeo, quem cap- 5  
tum et extra conventum amandatum in Frisos diximus, cor-  
ruptis custodibus perfugit. Pollicitusque, si praesidium dare-  
tur, iturum in Batavos et potiorem civitatis partem ad socie-  
tatem Romanam retracturum; accepta peditum equitumque  
modica manu, nihil apud Batavos ausus, quosdam Nerviorum  
Betasiorumque in arma traxit. Et furtim magis, quam bello, 6  
Canninefates Marsacosque incursabat. Voclula, Gallorum  
57 fraude inlectus, ad hostem contendit. Nec procul Veteribus  
aberat, cum Classicus ac Tutor, per speciem explorandi pree-  
gressi, cum Ducibus Germanorum pacta firmavere. Tumque 2  
primum discreti a legionibus proprio vallo castra sua circum-  
dant, obtestante Voclula, 'Non adeo turbatam civilibus armis  
rem Romanam, ut Treveris etiam Lingonibusque despiciu-  
sit. Superesse fidas provincias, victores exercitus, fortu-  
nam Imperii, et ultores Deos. Sic olim Sacrovirum et 3  
Aeduos, nuper Vindicem Galliasque, singulis proeliis concidisse.  
Eadem rursus Numina, eadem fata, ruptores foederum exspec-  
tarent. Melius D. Julio Divoque Augusto notos eorum  
animos. Galbam, et infracta tributa, hostiles spiritus induisse.  
Nunc hostes, quia molle servitium; cum spoliati exutique  
suerint, amicos fore.' Haec ferociter locutus, postquam per- 4  
stare in perfidia Classicum Tutoremque videt, verso itinere,

Latin writer but Tacitus would, in a sentence like this, have written *isdem* without *artibus* for 'by the same means;' but we may believe that Tacitus did, when the ms. tells us so.

**descendit]** He had gone up to raise the siege of Mogontiacum, 37. 3.

**4 diximus]** 18. 7.

**CH. LVII. hostem]** Civilis, who had resumed the blockade of Vetera, 36. 1.

**3 Sic]** Owing to these powers, which they forgot or despised.

**Sacrovirum et Aeduos]** *Ann. iii.*  
40 *sqq.*

**Melius . . . animos]** They, who imposed tributes, know better the temper of the men they had to deal with than Galba (and perhaps Claudius), who relieved them of tribute, and conferred other honours and privileges on them, i. 51. 6. But the Treveri and Lingones had been opposed to Galba, *ibid.* 5, and punished by him, i. 53. 5: Voclula or Tacitus thinks of the Gauls in a lump, and forgets the dissensions and rivalries between their various

Novesium concedit. Galli duum milium spatio distantibus campis consedere. Illuc commeantium Centurionum militum- 5 que emebantur animi: ut (flagitium incognitum,) Romanus exercitus in externa verba jurarent, pignusque tanti sceleris nece aut vinculis Legatorum daretur. Vocabula, quamquam 6 plerique fugam suadebant, audendum ratus, vocata contione, 58 in hunc modum disseruit:—‘Nunquam apud vos verba feci, aut pro vobis sollicitior, aut pro me securior. Nam mihi exitium parari, libens audio: mortemque in tot malis [hostium,] ut finem miseriarum, exspecto. Vestri me pudet miseretque, adversus quos non proelium et acies parantur; id enim fas armorum et jus hostium. Bellum cum Populo Romano vestris 2 se manibus gesturum, Classicus sperat, Imperiumque et sacramentum Galliarum ostentat. Adeo nos, si fortuna in praesens virtusque deseruit, etiam vetera exempla deficiunt, quotiens Romanae legiones perire praeoptaverint, ne loco pellerentur.’ Socii saepe nostri, exscindi urbes suas, seque cum conjugibus 3 ac liberis cremari, pertulerunt: neque aliud pretium exitus, quam fides famaque. Tolerant cum maxime inopiam obsidiumque apud Vetera legiones, nec terrore aut promissis demo-  
tribes, which were really the influence that made all their revolts hopeless.

5 *emebantur*] Used as a degrading word, but it cannot mean that they received money.

Romanus exercitus . . . jurarent] The pl. with a noun of multitude, like other constructions *καὶ σύνεστιν*, is rather frequent in Tacitus; here however it may be said that *exercitus* is not so much the subject as in apposition with the subject, ‘that they, a Roman army as they were, should swear.’ It is therefore needless to read *Romani*, or *Romano exercitui*, to be taken in connection with *flagitium incognitum*.

CH. LVIII. *hostium*] So M.: whether introduced by a slip from

the place where it occurs two lines below, or a corruption disguising some word suitable to the place. On the latter view, *honestam* and *solacium* have been proposed.

fas . . . jus] The words keep their proper force—the impersonal power is conceived as the more nearly divine.

2 Adeo . . . pellerentur] ‘Are we, if fortune and courage have deserted us now, so utterly destitute of instances in the past, of the many times that Roman legions have chosen . . .?’ i.e. ‘Have we so utterly forgotten the well-known instances that history supplies?’ The Cremera and Cannae were the favourite typical instances of Roman heroism in defeat.

3 *Socii*] The Saguntines.

ventur. Nobis, super arma et viros et egregia castrorum 4  
munita, frumentum et commeatus, quamvis longo bello  
pares. Pecunia nuper etiam donativo sufficit: quod sive a  
Vespasiano, sive a Vitellio, datum interpretari mavoltis, ab  
Imperatore certe Romano accepistis. Tot bellorum victores, 5  
apud Geldubam, apud Vetera, fuso toties hoste, si pavetis  
aciem, indignum id quidem: sed est vallum murique et  
trahendi artes, donec e proximis provinciis auxilia exercitusque  
concurrent. Sane ego displiceam. Sunt alii Legati, Tribuni,  
Centurio denique, aut miles. Ne hoc prodigium toto terra- 6  
rum orbe volgetur, vobis satellitibus, Civilem et Classicum  
Italiam invasuros. An, si ad moenia urbis Germani Gallique  
duxerint, arma patriae inferetis? Horret animus tanti flagitii  
imagine. Tutorin' Trevero agentur excubiae? Signum belli 7  
Batavus dabit? et Germanorum catervas supplebitis? Quis  
deinde sceleris exitus? cum Romanae legiones contra direxerint:  
transfugae e transfugis, et proditores e proditoribus,  
inter recens et vetus sacramentum invisi Deis errabitis? Te, 8  
Juppiter optime maxime, quem per octingentos viginti annos  
tot triumphis coluimus, te, Quirine, Romanae parens urbis,  
precor venerorque, ut, si vobis non fuit cordi, me Duce haec

4 *egregia c. munimenta*] While the garrison at Vetera had weak lines as well as scant provisions.

5 *donativo . . . mavoltis*] 36. 2, 3.

5 *apud Geldubam, apud Vetera*] 33, 34.

6 *patriae*] Which Rome is, and Italy is not: cf. *Ann.* iv. 58. 3, but contrast ii. 12. 4. But, though the legionaries were conventionally assumed to be Roman citizens, probably few of the armies of Germany had ever seen Rome: while most were of Gaulish and some of German descent.

7 *Trevero*] Germans and Gauls are here grouped together as barbarians, fit objects of contempt to any Roman soldier: but in some parts of the speech the object seems

to be to appeal to the pride of the German army, who had conquered Gaul under Vindex.

8 *catervas*] The technical term for the Gallic and German order of battle, a column charging with the broadsword; it has been, probably wrongly, imagined to be a Celtic word. Hence the force of the question is, 'Will you disciplined legionaries be content to form a reserve force on which to draw to make up the enemy's barbarous columns?'

9 *transfugae e transfugis*] Tacitus calls it *honestum transfugium* when it happened, 70. 4.

10 *octingentos viginti*] See on i. 1. 1.

11 *ut, si vobis non fuit cordi*] Imitated from *Liv.* ix. 8.

castra incorupta et intemerata servari, at certe pollui foedari-  
que a Tute et Classico ne sinatis. Militibus Romanis aut  
innocentiam detis, aut maturam et sine noxa paenitentiam.'

59 Varie excepta oratio, inter spem metumque ac pudorem.  
Digressum Vocabulam, et de supremis agitantem, liberti servi-  
que prohibuere, foedissimam mortem sponte praevenire. Et  
Classicus, misso Aemilio Longino, desertore primae legionis,  
caedem ejus maturavit. Herennium et Numisium, Legatos, 2  
vinciri satis visum. Dein, sumptis Romani Imperii insignibus,  
in castra venit. Nec illi, quamquam ad omne facinus durato,  
verba ultra suppeditavere, quam ut sacramentum recitaret.  
Juravere, qui aderant, pro Imperio Galliarum. Interfectorem 3  
Vocabulae altis ordinibus, ceteros, ut quisque flagitium nava-  
verat, praemiis attollit. Divisae inde inter Tute et Classi-  
cum curae. Tutor valida manu circumdatos Agrippinenses, 4  
quantumque militum apud superiorem Rheni ripam, in eadem  
verba adigit, occisis Mogontiaci Tribunis, pulso castrorum  
Praefecto, qui detrectaverant. Classicus corruptissimum quem- 5  
que e deditis pergere ad obsessos jubet, veniam ostentantes,  
si praesentia sequerentur: aliter nihil spei. Famem ferrum-  
que et extrema passuros. Adjecere, qui missi erant, exem-  
60 plum suum. Obsessos hinc fides, inde egestas, inter decus  
ac flagitium distrahebant. Cunctantibus solita insolitaque  
alimenta deerant; absumptis jumentis equisque et ceteris

CH. LIX. *foedissimam mortem*]  
The being murdered by such a  
traitor: it is not implied that he  
was murdered with gratuitous in-  
dignities.

2 *Herennium . . . visum*] They  
were put to death afterwards, 70. 6;  
for Herennius Gallus, see cc. 19, 20,  
26, 27, for Numisius Rufus, 22. I.

Nec illi, etc.] A real Roman  
general, on such an occasion, would  
have had a *contio*; Classicus' auda-  
city was not equal to that. Was he

afraid of making himself ridiculous  
by bad Latin?

3 *altis ordinibus*] 'The com-  
mand of a dignified century'—they  
made him *primipilus* or something  
near it.

*flagitium navaverat*] An oxy-  
moron—also a somewhat com-  
pressed constr., as *navare* generally  
takes a more abstract word, like  
*operam*.

4 *pulso*] Turned out and roughly  
handled.

animalibus, quae profana foedaque in usum necessitas vertit. Virgulta postremo et stirpes et internatas saxis herbas vellentes, <sup>2</sup> misericarum patientiaeque documentum fuere: donec egregiam laudem fine turpi macularent, missis ad Civilem legatis, vitam orantes. Neque ante preces admissae, quam in verba Gal- <sup>3</sup> liarum jurarent. Tum, pactus praedam castrorum, dat custodes, qui pecuniam, calones, sarcinas retentarent, ac qui ipsos leves abeuntes prosequerentur. Ad quintum fere lapi- <sup>4</sup> dem coorti Germani incautum agmen adgrediuntur. Pugnacissimus quisque in vestigio, multi palantes, occubuere: ceteri retro in castra perfugint; querente sane Civili et increpante Germanos, tamquam fidem per scelus abrumperent. Simulata <sup>5</sup> ea fuerint, an retinere saevientes nequiverit, parum adfirmatur. Direptis castris, faces iniciunt: cunctosque, qui praelio super-  
61 fuerant, incendium hausit. Civilis, barbaro voto, post coepta adversus Romanos arma, propexum rutilatumque crinem,

CH. LX. **quae profana foedaque**] The antecedent is *ceteris animalibus* ('rats and mice and such small deer'; cf. Liv. xxiii. 19, of the siege of Casilinum) not *jumentis equisque*.

2 **Virgulta . . . herbas**] Livy *l. c.* conceives mice as a *more* dire extremity than grass.

3 **leves**] Without baggage, apparently not altogether without arms, as there was a *praelium* (§ 5), not a mere massacre. Comparing 35. 2, i. 80. 2 with ii. 40. 2, we may guess that the *sarcinae* included all the arms but the sword; and that though carried by the soldier in face of the enemy, they and he were less inseparable in Polybius' time.

4 **perfugint**] So M., though with a conventional abbreviation for the syllable *per*: some read *prof.*, which is commoner in this sense.

**querente sane, etc.**] The whole story reminds the English reader of the massacre at Fort William Henry in 1757. There, Montcalm was blamed, justly or no, for not re-

straining his Indian allies: but he had disciplined forces at his disposal, which Civilis had not.

5 **Direptis . . . hausit**] The plunderers were in the camp; the fugitives returning theremight throw themselves into huts, and prolong their defence a little, but could not occupy the works so as to stand a third siege.

CH. LXI. **barbaro voto**] Scratch a Batavian, and you soon found a Chattan, 12. 2, *Germ.* 29. 1. In *Germ.* 31. 1 we are told that this custom of letting the hair grow till they had slain an enemy, adopted by individuals throughout Germany, was universal among the Chatti. Caesar in Gaul once did the same, by way of a vow to avenge the defeat of Titurius and Cotta by Ambiorix. The same practice, or similar ones, have been found in half civilised races in both earlier and later times —e.g. the Scotch loyalists who, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 'wore a beard for the king.'

**rutilatum**] Dying the hair red

patrata demum caede legionum, depositus. Et ferebatur, parvulo filio quosdain captivorum sagittis jaculisque puerilibus figendos obtulisse. Ceterum neque se, neque quemquam <sup>2</sup> Batavum, in verba Galliarum adegit: fisus Germanorum opibus, et, si certandum adversus Gallos de possessione rerum foret, inclitus fama et potior. Mummius Lupercus, Legatus <sup>3</sup> legionis, inter dona missus Veledae. Ea virgo nationis Bructeræ late imperitabat: vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas et, augescente superstitione, arbitrantur Deas. Tuncque Veledae auctoritas adolevit. <sup>4</sup> Nam prosperas Germanis res et excidium legionum praedixerat. Sed Lupercus in itinere interfactus. Pauci Centurionum Tribunorumque, in Gallia geniti, reservantur, pignus societati. Cohortium, alarum, legionum hiberna subversa <sup>5</sup> cremataque: iis tantum relictis, quae Mogontiaci ac Vin-

was common among the Gauls; it was also supposed to be necessary to make them look like Germans. Poets assumed that all Batavians had red hair by nature (Sil. Ital. iii. 608): no doubt it was common first and fashionable afterwards. Juv. xiii. 164-5 seems not to distinguish the natural and artificial.

**patrata . . . legionum]** Though he complained of the breach of faith, he accepted the victory—which would indeed have been all the completer, if the troops could have been gained over to the cause of the revolt.

**captivorum]** Those taken in the previous battles: evidently no quarter was given in the last massacre, except to the Gaulish officers mentioned below. The story, if true, suggests that a superficially civilised barbarian shrank from going back himself to his ancestral customs, while allowing his children to do so. William Longsword, the gentle and pious Duke of Normandy, seems at one time to have agreed to

have his son brought up among the unsettled Danes.

**2 Batavum]** Perhaps most likely a gen. pl.

**fisus G. opibus, etc.]** It perhaps is meant that he distrusted the success of the Gauls, and wished the Germans to be able to maintain their own independence by sacrificing them: then it is added, that if the Gauls did succeed, they would not be formidable to Germany.

**3 Veledae]** *Germ.* 8. 3, *Stat. Silv.* I. iv. 90, *Dio* lxvii. 5. *Statius l.c.* speaks of *captivæ preces Veledae*—perhaps a flattering version of Dio's story that her successor Ganna came on an embassy to Domitian and was honourably treated. *Statius* makes the penult short: *Dio* spells it with an *η*.

**arbitrantur]** *M.* has *arbitrentur*, which may be defended: 'which leads them to think . . .'

**4 societati]** *Societatis* is obvious, therefore *Tacitus* did not write it, but the scribe of *M.* did, and struck it out afterward.

62 donissae sita sunt. Legio sextadecima cum auxiliis simul deditis a Novesio in coloniam Treverorum transgredi jubetur, praefinita die, intra quam castris excederet. Medium omne 2 tempus per varias curas egere: ignavissimus quisque, caesorum apud Vetera exemplo, paventes; melior pars rubore et infamia: 'quale illud iter? quis dux viae? et omnia in arbitrio eorum, quos vitae necisque dominos fecissent.' Alii, nulla 3 dedecoris cura, pecuniam aut carissima sibimet ipsi circumdare. Quidam expedire arma, telisque tamquam in aciem accingi. Haec meditantibus, advenit proficisci hora, expectatione tristior. Quippe intra vallum deformitas haud 4 perinde notabilis: detexit ignominiam campus et dies. Revolsae Imperatorum imagines, in honora signa, fulgentibus hinc inde Gallorum vexillis: silens agmen, et velut longae exsequiae: dux Claudius Sanctus, effosso oculo, dirus ore, ingenio debilior. Duplicatur flagitium, postquam, desertis 5 Bonnensibus castris, altera se legio miscuerat. Et, volgata captarum legionum fama, cuncti, qui paulo ante Romanorum nomen horrebant, procurrentes ex agris tectisque et undique effusi insolito spectaculo nimium fruebantur. Non tulit ala 6

CH. LXII. sextadecima] 26. 3.  
 2 quale illud iter? quis dux  
 viae?] 'What was the character of the march?' something between a retreat from the German frontier and an invasion of the Roman empire; 'what would they think of the man (whoever he was) 'who would guide them along it?'

3 Haec meditantibus, etc.] Founded on Livy's description of the surrender at Caudium, ix. 5.

4 Revolsae . . . signa] A sort of hendiadys, 'Their ensigns without the honour of an emperor's figure.' The *impp. imagines* are, according to Or., *eorum qui inter divos relati erant*, *D. Julii*, *D. Augusti*, *D. Claudii*. This certainly accounts for the pl.; but ordinarily

we hear only of the image of the reigning emperor, and it is best to take it so here. It is hardly likely that Titus' image was yet associated with his father's: but the pl. may mean 'without the image of any emperor.' They had destroyed Galba's (i. 55. 3) and Vitellius' (implied in 37. 2): but then at least others had taken their place: now, to set up Sabinus' would be even worse than to have none.

dux] Or. takes it as 'guide'; but the 'promises and threats' of § 6 show that he was commander. Probably a legate or tribune appointed by Classicus and Tutor, in place of the officers slain or imprisoned.

dirus ore, ingenio debilior] A

Picentina gaudium insultantis volgi: spretisque Sancti promissis aut minis, Mogontiacum abeunt: ac forte obvio interfectore Vocolae, Longino, conjectis in eum telis, initium exsolvendae in posterum culpae fecere. Legiones, nihil mutato itinere, ante moenia Treverorum considunt.

63 Civilis et Classicus, rebus secundis sublati, an coloniam Agrippinensem diripiendam exercitibus suis permetterent, dubitavere. Saevitia ingenii et cupidine praedae ad excidium civitatis trahebantur: obstabat ratio belli, et novum Imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiae fama. Civilem etiam beneficij memoria flexit, quod filium ejus, primo rerum motu in colonia Agrippinensi deprehensum, honorate custodierant. Sed Trans- 3 rhenanis gentibus invisa civitas, opulentia auctuque. Neque alium finem belli rebantur, quam si promisca ea sedes omnibus Germanis foret, aut disjecta Ubios quoque dispersisset.

64 Igitur Tencteri, Rheno discreta gens, missis legatis, mandata apud concilium Agrippinensium edi jubent: quae ferocissimus e legatis in hunc modum protulit:—‘ Redisse vos in corpus 2 nomenque Germaniae, communibus Deis et praecipuo Deorum,

climax, not a contrast, ‘ hideous in face, and with a mind even more deficient.’ For the sense of *debilis*, cf. *Ann.* xiii. 14. 5, *debilis rursus Burrus . . . trunca scilicet manu.*

CH. LXIII. 2 *filium . . . motu*] Presumably the *parvulus* of 61. 1; we may suppose he was released by the events of 28. 3, 4.

3 *auctu*] It probably grew by immigration as well as natural causes: moreover, a strong Roman outpost was of course more objectionable than a weak one.

**promisca . . . Germanis**] So that any German might settle there, and enjoy all the privileges of a freeman (‘ of a citizen’ would soon have become an inappropriate term), without special grant or proof of Ubian blood.

CH. LXIV. **concilium**] The regular word for a *popular* assembly not so like the Roman as to be called *Comitia*.

**ferocissimus e legatis**] His name is not given, in order to produce the effect that we are listening not to an orator, whose language we compare with that of others, but to a savage, whose eminence above his comrades is in daring, not in eloquence. Of course the speech is, like others, a free composition of the historian: but from the author of the *Germany* we may expect accuracy in the local colour.

**2 praecipuo Deorum, Marti**] Contrast *Germ.* 9. 1, *Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt*. We may suppose that the identification of Latin and Teutonic deities, now familiar

Marti, grates agimus: vobisque gratulamur, quod tandem liberi inter liberos eritis. Nam ad hunc diem flumina ac terras et caelum quodammodo ipsum clauerant Romani, ut conloquia congressusque nostros arcerent: vel, quod contumeliosius est viris ad arma natis, inermes ac prope nudi, sub custode et pretio coiremus. Sed, ut amicitia societasque nostra in aeternum rata sit, postulamus a vobis, muros coloniae, munimenta servitii, detrahatis: (etiam fera animalia, si clausa teneas, virtutis obliviscuntur:) Romanos omnes in finibus vestris trucidetis; haud facile libertas et domini miscentur. Bona intersectorum in medium cedant, ne quis oculere quicquam aut segregare causam suam possit. Liceat nobis vobisque utramque ripam colere, ut olim majoribus nostris. Quomodo lucem diemque omnibus hominibus, ita omnes terras fortibus viris natura aperuit. Instituta cultumque patrium

of 65. 4: a duty imposed on marketing was a check on political meetings, or on the country people frequenting the town.

**3 detrahatis]** 'Strip your city of its walls,' C. and B.: the word does not naturally mean 'to pull down.' In *Ann. xv. 17. 4* we have *detraheret castella trans Euphraten*: but that is less difficult; it is as we should say, 'to draw off his outposts:' here we have the same image as the Homeric *Τροῆς λεπὰ κρῆδευνα λύωμεν* (*Il. xvi. 100*), or the later Greek *περιαρέσθαι τὸ τεῖχος*, and nearly the same as the Latin *exxi castris*.

**4 ut olim majoribus nostris]** Tacitus tells us (*Germ. 28 fin.*) that the Colony of Agrippina was founded in well-grounded confidence that the Ubii would prevent their kindred from crossing the river: presumably therefore they were accustomed to cross it before. He also observes (*ibid. 32*) that the Tenceri occupied the part of the river's course where it is best fitted for a boundary. The Rhine was

to us from the English and French names of the days of the week, was already accepted. While Wuotan or Woden was the chief god of German devotion, Zio or Tiw (etymologically the same as *Zeus*), as he was historically the oldest of their gods, may have retained some traditions of pre-eminence: the two gods are coupled in *Ann. xiii. 59. 3.* But Thunar (Donner, Thor) seems to be identified with Hercules in *Germ. l.c.*, not, as in later times, with Jove.

**inermes . . . coiremus]** For the German custom of bearing arms in popular assemblies, see *Germ. 13. 1.* Or. says that it was retained in the communal meetings of the country of Zurich, to the end of the last century: in the *concilium* of the democratic canton of Appenzell, it is said to be retained still:—curiously enough, in the Protestant and manufacturing portion only.

**pretio]** 'On condition of payment'—a modal abl. not dependent on *sub.* The expression refers to the *veetigal et onera commerciorum*

resumite, abruptis voluptatibus, quibus Romani plus adversus subjectos quam armis valent. Sincerus et integer et servitutis oblitus populus, aut ex aequo agetis, aut aliis imperitabitis.'

65 Agrippinenses, sumpto consultandi spatio, quando neque subire condiciones metus futuri, neque palam aspernari condicio praesens sinebat, in hunc modum respondent. 'Quae <sup>2</sup> prima libertatis facultas data est, avidius quam cautius summis, ut vobis ceterisque Germanis, consanguineis nostris, jungeremur. Muros civitatis, congregantibus se cum maxime Romanorum exercitibus, augere nobis, quam diruere, tutius est. Si qui ex Italia aut provinciis alienigenae in finibus <sup>3</sup> nostris fuerant, eos bellum absumpsit, vel in suas quisque sedes refugere. Deductis olim et nobiscum per connubium sociatis, quique mox provenere, haec patria est. Nec vos <sup>4</sup> adeo iniquos existimamus, ut interfici a nobis parentes, fratres, liberos nostros velitis. Vectigal et onera commerciorum resolvimus. Sint transitus incustoditis; sed diurni et inermes, donec nova et recentia jura in vetustatem consuetudine ver-

fordable in places above Bingium, and includes some islands that break its width for swimmers: but in the gorge from Bingen to the Seven Mountains it was probably deeper and more rapid then than now, and certainly rockier and more difficult of navigation. If therefore the Tenceri desired to cross, they would do so in the plain of Bonn and Cologne, though they probably occupied also the mountains as far south as Ehrenbreitstein and the Lahn.

5 **abruptis**] We had the same use in ii. 53. 3.

**ex aequo agetis**] So *Agr.* 20. 3, *multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant.*

CH. LXV. **condiciones . . . condicio**] The repetition of the word in somewhat different senses is an inadvertence, not a designed play upon words: *metus futuri* balances *condicio praesens*. Tacitus would

hardly have denied it to be a fault.

**2 Quae prima, etc.**] Scarcely true, 28. 3.

**3 Deductis olim**] Members of the original colony, planted (*Ann.* xii. 27. 1) twenty years before. These naturalised citizens, who are at home here whether the *civitas* be called *Ubii* or *Agrippinenses*, are contrasted with the *alienigenae*.

**quique mox provenere**] Born in the colony, whether of Roman parentage on both sides, or of the intermarriage of Roman and German.

**4 Vectigal . . . inermes**] In reply to 64. 2, *inermes . . . coiremus*. They concede the point raised in the latter words, *sub custode et pretio*: but they defer the right of *armed meeting*.

**incustoditis**] So M. by the first hand, and so Or. *Incustoditi* is so very much easier that it has been accepted by almost all edd.: but

tantur. Arbitrum habebimus Civilem et Veledam, apud quos 5 pacta sancientur.' Sic lenitis Tencteris, legati ad Civilem et Veledam missi cum donis, cuncta ex voluntate Agrippinensium perpetravere. Sed coram adire adloquique Veledam negatum. 6 Arcebantur aspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset. Ipsa edita in turre: delectus e propinquis consulta responsaque, ut internuntius numinis, portabat.

66 Civilis, societate Agrippinensium auctus, proximas civitates adfectare, aut adversantibus bellum inferre, statuit. Occupatisque Sunucis, et juventute eorum per cohortes composita, quo minus ultra pergeret, Claudius Labeo Betasiorum Tungrorumque et Nerviorum tumultuaria manu restitit: fretus loco, quia pontem Mosae fluminis anteceperat. Pugnabaturque 2 in angustiis ambigue, donec Germani transnatantes terga Labeonis invasere. Simul Civilis, ausus, an ex composito, intulit se agmini Tungrorum, et clara voce, 'Non ideo,' inquit, 'bellum sumpsimus, ut Batavi et Treveri gentibus imperent. Procul haec a nobis adrogantia. Accipite societatem. Transgredior ad vos, seu me Ducem seu militem mavoltis.' Move- 3 batur volgus, condebantque gladios; cum Campanus ac Juvenalis, ex primoribus Tungrorum, universam ei gentem dedidere. Labeo, antequam circumveniretur, profugit. Civilis Betasios quoque ac Nervios, in fidem acceptos, copiis suis adjunxit: ingens rerum, perculis civitatum animis, vel sponte inclinantibus.

67 Interea Julius Sabinus, projectis foederis Romani monu-

the text may be explained, 'You may be allowed to cross the river without having to be on your guard against an enemy; only let your passage be made in the style becoming an ally, not an enemy, until we feel able to allow each other the liberties of a fellow-citizen.'

6 **edita in turre**] Presumed from v. 22 *fin.* to have stood on the banks of the Lippe. 'Ceterum

*similiter turres habitasse feruntur Brynhildr et Jettha, mulier vaticiniis inclita apud Grimm. Mythol. ed. ii. p. 85, 374.*' Or.

CH. LXVI. *Labeo*] 56. 5.

**pontem Mosae**] Supposed to be at Maestricht, *Mosae Trajectus*.

**2 seu . . . mavoltis**] Imitated from Sal. *Cat. 20. 16, vel imperatore vel milite me utimini.*

CH. LXVII. **projectis . . .**

mentis, Caesarem se salutari jubet: magnamque et inconditam popularium turbam in Sequanos rapit, conterminam civitatem et nobis fidam. Nec Sequani detrectavere certamen. Fortuna 2 melioribus adfuit. Fusi Lingones. Sabinus festinatum temere proelium pari formidine deseruit. Utque famam exitii sui faceret, villam, in quam perfugerat, cremavit: illic voluntaria morte interisse creditus. Sed quibus artibus latebrisque vitam 3 per novem mox annos traduxerit, simul amicorum ejus constantiam et insigne Epponinae uxoris exemplum, suo loco reddemus. Sequanorum prospera acie belli impetus stetit. Resipiscere paulatim civitates, fasque et foedera respicere, 4 principibus Remis: qui per Gallias edixere, ut missis legatis in commune consultarent, libertas an pax placeret.

68 At Romae cuncta in deterius audita Mucianum angebant, ne, quamquam egregii duces (jam enim Gallum Annium et

**monumentis]** The pillars or tablets on which it was written. Compare Thuc. v. 56. 3, with Arnold's note.

**Caesarem]** He claimed the hereditary title: the personal one of *imperator* it might have been hard to refuse to the abler and bolder Classicus.

**2 melioribus]** Tacitus respects the Germans fighting for a continuous independence (*Ann.* ii. 8. 8), but has no sympathy for a revolt of a people who have once submitted.

**Fusi Lingones]** Apparently they were not absolutely crushed by the battle, as Frontinus ascribes their submission to the conciliatory policy of Domitian's advisers.

**pari formidine deseruit]** Plutarch in his Love-treatise, c. 25, tells the story more favourably to Sabinus. He says that after the defeat, he had every opportunity for escaping to the Germans, but would not leave his wife behind.

**3 quibus artibus latebrisque]** In an underground cellar, where his wife (after her mourning for him, at first sincere) visited him

every night. After an unsuccessful visit to Rome to see if he could obtain pardon, she lived more and more continuously with him, and bore him two sons in the cellar. He was discovered in the last year of Vespasian, brought to Rome, and executed with his wife. Plutarch thinks the Emperor's death, and the speedy extinction of his house, was a judgment for his cruelty: Dio says he shed tears at the wife's appeal, but refused mercy. The sons were spared — which seems strange, as in their case Augustus' maxim might have applied, *οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαυσαρίη*. To be sure, Caesarius was really an illegitimate son of Caesar's, which Sabinus' grandfather was not; but if they were not formidable, and their father was guilty, the mother was neither.

**Epponinae]** Plutarch calls her *'Εππονήν, ἐλληνιστὶ δὲ ἦν τις Ἡρωΐδα προσαγορεύετεν*: the name is no doubt derived from the Celtic goddess Epona (Juv. viii. 157). Dio writes it *Peponila*.

CH. LXVIII. **quamquam]** On

Petilium Cerialeum delegerat) summam belli parum tolerarent. Nec relinquenda urbs sine rectore. Et Domitiani indomitae libidines timebantur: suspectis, uti diximus, Primo Antonio Varoque Arrio. Varus, Praetorianis praepositus, vim atque arma retinebat. Eum Mucianus pulsum loco, ne sine solatio ageret, annonae praefecit. Utque Domitiani animum, Varo haud alienum, deliniret, Arretinum Clementem, domui Vespasiani per adfinitatem innexum et gratissimum Domitiano, Praetorianis praeposuit, patrem ejus sub G. Caesare egregie functum ea cura dictitans: laetum militibus idem nomen, atque ipsum, quamquam Senatorii ordinis, ad utraque munia sufficere. Adsumuntur e civitate clarissimus quisque, et alii per ambitionem. Simul Domitianus Mucianusque accingebantur, dispari animo: ille spe ac juventa properus, hic moras nectens, quis flagrantem retineret, ne ferocia aetatis et pravis impulsoribus, si exercitum invasisset, paci belloque male con-

the point of transition from its primary to its common meaning: 'the generals, *however* famous they might be,' and 'the generals, famous *though* they were,' come to much the same thing.

**Gallum Annium** i. 87. 3, ii. 11. 5, etc.

**Cerialeum delegerat**] According to Josephus, Cerialis was *not* selected by Mucianus nor (for this command especially) by Vespasian, but arrived opportunely on his way towards Britain, where Vespasian had named him to the command, and where he had, some years before, already served with credit. According to the same authority, he was now consul—Vespasian and Titus having no doubt held office for the usual term of two months.

**2 Domitiani . . . timebantur**] 2. 1, 39. 2, 51. 3. Self-pleasing in one direction was thought to imply self-will in another—just as Alcibiades' irreligion and immorality was

held to prove him to be politically dangerous.

**uti diximus**] 39. 3.

**3 domui . . . innexum**] Perhaps Sabinus had married his sister; Sabinus' younger son bore the *cognomen* Clemens. See on i. 14. 2.

**gratissimum D.**] Domitian however, when emperor, put him to death, as well as his two (presumed) nephews.

**quamquam Senatorii ordinis**] Suetonius asserts, that Titus was the first *praefectus praetorio* of more than equestrian rank. He is no doubt wrong.

**sufficere**] This passage shows that the custom of intrusting the office to *equites* was not merely due to jealousy—it seemed in accordance with the fitness of things.

**4 Adsumuntur**] 'Are chosen as companions' to Mucianus, whose purpose of going in person to Gaul was implied in § 1.

**si exercitum . . . male con-**

suleret. Legiones victrices, XI et VIII, Vitellianarum unaet- 5  
 vicesima, e recens conscriptis secunda, Poeninis Cottianisque  
 Alpibus, pars monte Graio, traducuntur: xiiii legio e Brit-  
 annia, vi ac decima ex Hispania accitae. Igitur venientis 6  
 exercitus fama, et suopte ingenio ad mitiora inclinantes,  
 Galliarum civitates in Remos convenere. Treverorum legatio  
 illic opperiebatur, acerrimo instinctore belli Tullio Valentino.  
 Is meditata oratione cuncta, magnis imperiis objectari solita, 7  
 contumeliasque et invidiam in Populum Romanum effudit:  
 turbidus miscendis seditionibus, et plerisque gratus vecordi  
 69 facundia. At Julius Auspex, e primoribus Remorum, vim  
 Romanam pacisque bona dissertans, et 'sumi bellum etiam  
 ab ignavis, strenuissimi cujusque periculo geri, jamque super  
 caput legiones,' sapientissimum quemque reverentia fideque,  
 juniores periculo ac metu, continuuit. Et Valentini animum  
 laudabant, consilium Auspicis sequebantur. Constat, obsti- 2  
 tisse Treveris Lingonibusque apud Gallias, quod Vindicis  
 motu cum Verginio steterant. Deterruit plerosque provincia-

**suleret]** If he seized the practical direction of the army, he might take measures unfavourable either to immediate victory or to subsequent pacification. Domitian was suspected (86. 1) of having attempted a treasonable intrigue with the army a little later: but Mucianus does not yet suspect him of anything worse than indiscreet vanity.

**5 XI et VIII]** M. has the numbers of several of these legions written (contrary to the usual practice) in figures, and some of them corrupt. While correcting the errors (which can be done with tolerable certainty, from the earlier and later notices of the various legions), it is as well to leave the indication of their source.

**e recens conscriptis]** Apparently the *e classicis legio* of iii. 55. 1, which must be different from the

*Prima Adiutrix* of iii. 44. 1.

**monte Graio]** In ii. 66. 5 we have the commoner form *Alpibus Graiis*.

**6 Tullio]** Had an ancestor of his become a client of Q. Cicero?

**CH. LXIX. super caput]** We can easily say in English 'were hanging over their heads:' in Latin the image is naturally expressed by the verb *imminere*. It would perhaps be fanciful to suppose that, in so short a speech, and that reported in *oratio obliqua*, we have an attempt at a dramatic picture of Celtic eloquence, as in c. 64 we have of Germanic.

**2 Constat . . . steterant]** i. 51. 5. **provinciarum aemulatio** seems almost to mean what we should call 'provincial jealousy:' for it was the different tribes, not the different provinces, that were jealous

rum aemulatio: 'quod bello caput? unde jus auspiciumque peteretur? quam, si cuncta provenissent, sedem Imperio legerent?' Nondum victoria, jam discordia erat: aliis foedera, 3 quibusdam opes viresque, aut vetustatem originis, per jurgia jactantibus. Taedio futurorum praesentia placuere. Scribuntur ad Treveros epistolae, nomine Galliarum, ut abstinerent armis, impetrabili venia et paratis deprecatoribus, si paeniteret. Restitit idem Valentinus, obstruxitque civitatis suae aures, 4 haud perinde instruendo bello intentus, quam frequens 70 con-tionibus. Igitur non Treveri, neque Lingones ceteraeve rebellium civitates, pro magnitudine suscepti discriminis agere. Ne Duces quidem in unum consulere. Sed Civilis avia Bel-garum circumibat, dum Claudio Labeonem capere aut ex-turbare nititur. Classicus, segne plerumque otium trahens, 2 velut parto imperio fruebatur. Ne Tutor quidem maturavit superiorem Germaniae ripam et ardua Alpium praesidiis clau-dere. Atque interim unaetvicesima legio Vindonissa, Sex- 3

of each other. Of course *provinciarum* has not lost its technical meaning, but the sense may be 'such jealousy as you get in the provinces.'

**quod bello . . . legerent?**] The substance of all their perplexity is, 'How were they to establish an empire with all the organisation and all the associations of the Roman?' For the historical significance of the attempt to do so, see Introduction, vol. i. p. xiii. Here they first ask the common-sense question, 'Who shall be commander-in-chief?' then assume that their commander-in-chief must, to have lawful authority, possess all the civil and religious attributes of a Roman *imperator* (*unde . . . peteretur*, 'from whom were they to look for' these qualifications—it was all the harder to find them, after the collapse of the pseudo-Caesar); and lastly they assume that the power of the new empire must be

centralised in one point like that from which the power of the old had spread.

**3 Taedio futurorum]** 'From disgust with what was to be ex-pected (a domination of the Tre-veri) they rested satisfied with what was' (the domination of Rome).

**CH. LXX. non . . . neque . . . ve]** Compare Hor. *Od.* I. iv. 3, 4, and II. ix. 1-6, where we have *neque . . . aut . . . nec, non . . . aut . . . nec . . . aut*, without appar-ent meaning in the variety.

**avia]** The marsh districts—the usual refuge of unsuccessful parti-sans, whether in Babylonia, Egypt, England, or Holland.

**2 Ne Tutor quidem]** Perhaps we may gather from § 8 and 76. 2, 6, that Tutor was more zealous, per-haps somewhat abler, than Classicus; hitherto we have always heard of them as co-ordinate. From 59. 3, 4, we see that Tutor had taken

tilius Felix cum auxiliariis cohortibus per Raetiam inrupere. Accessit ala Singularium, excita olim a Vitellio, deinde in partes Vespasiani transgressa. Praeerat Julius Briganticus, sorore Civilis genitus, ut ferme acerrima proximorum odia sunt, in visus avonculo infensusque. Tutor Treverorum copias, + recenti Vangionum, Caeracatum, Tribocorum delectu auctas, veterano pedite atque equite firmavit, corruptis spe aut metu subactis legionariis : qui primo cohortem, praemissam a Sextilio Felice, interficiunt ; mox ubi Duces exercitusque Romanus propinquabant, honesto transfugio rediere : secutis Tribocis Vangionibusque et Caeracibus. Tutor, Treveris comitanti- 5 bus, vitato Mogontiaco, Bingium concessit, fidens loco, quia pontem Navae fluminis abruperat, sed incursu cohortium, quas Sextilius ducebat, et reperto vado, proditus fususque. Ea clade perculsi Treveri, et plebes, omissis armis, per agros palatur. Quidam principum, ut primi posuisse bellum vide- 6 rentur, in civitates, quae societatem Romanam non exuerant, perfugerunt. Legiones a Novesio Bonaque in Treveros, ut supra memoravimus, traductae, se ipsae in verba Vespasiani adiungunt. Haec Valentino absente gesta : qui ubi adventabat 7 furens, cunctaque rursus in turbas et exitium conversurus, legiones in Mediomaticos, sociam civitatem, abscessere. Valentinus ac Tutor in arma Treveros retrahunt : occisis 8 Herennio ac Numisio, Legatis, quo minore spe veniae cres- ceret vinculum sceleris.

command (practically) of the Upper Province of Germany, *Classicus* of the Lower : here it seems to be intimated, that Tutor attempted, but not with sufficient vigour, to use the right measures for defending his own position.

3 *Felix*] iii. 5. 5. He was no doubt still *in* Raetia.

*Singularium*] A select body of horse, who ranked next after the Praetorians.

*Briganticus*] ii. 22. 6.

*sorore . . . genitus*] See on 33. 1.

4 *Vangionum . . . Tribocorum*]

These were German tribes, *Germ.* 28. 4—the Triboci in modern Alsace, the Vangiones about Worms. The Caeracates are not mentioned in the *Germany* : they occupied the hills over Bingen and Mainz, between the Nahe and the Rhine.

6 *supra*] 62. 1, 5.

8 *Legatis*] 59. 2.

71 Hic belli status erat, cum Petilius Cerialis Mogontiacum venit. Ejus adventu erectae spes. Ipse pugnae avidus et contemnendis, quam cavendis, hostibus melior, ferocia verborum militem incendebat: ubi primum congredi licuisset, nullam praelio moram facturus. Delectus per Galliam habitos 2 in civitates remittit, ac nuntiare jubet, sufficere Imperio legiones: socii ad munia pacis redirent, securi, velut confecto bello, quod Romanae manus exceperint. Auxit ea res Galorum obsequium. Nam, recepta juventute, facilius tributa toleravere, prioniores ad officia, quod spernebantur. At Civilis 3 et Classicus, ubi pulsum Tutorem, caesos Treveros, cuncta hostibus prospera accepere, trepidi ac properantes, dum dispersas suorum copias conducunt, crebris interim nuntiis Valentini monuere, ne summae rei periculum ficeret. Eo rapidius 4 Cerialis, missis in Mediomaticos, qui breviore itinere legiones in hostem verterent, contracto, quod erat militum Mogontiaci, quantumque secum transvexerat, tertiiis castris Rigodulum venit; quem locum magna Treverorum manu Valentinus insederat, montibus aut Mosella amne septum. Et addiderat fossas obicesque saxorum. Nec deterruere ea munimenta 5 Romanum ducem, quo minus peditem perrumpere juberet, equitum aciem in collem erigeret, spreto hoste; quem, temere collectum, haud ita loco juvari, ut non plus suis in virtute foret. Paullum morae in ascensu, dum missilia hostium prae- 6 vehuntur: ut ventum in manus, deturbati ruinae modo prae- cipitantur. Et pars equitum, aequioribus jugis circumvecta,

Ch. LXXI. *spes*] Of the soldiers who had returned to their allegiance, or of the peaceable provincials.

*Imperio*] 'For maintaining the sovereign authority' of Rome. Of course the word does not mean 'the Empire' in a geographical sense.

4 *tertiis castris*] As iii. 15. 3.

*Rigodulum*] Riol, some ten English miles below Trèves.

*montibus aut Mosella amne*] With either mountains or the river on every side.

6 *dum missilia . . . praevehuntur*] 'While they ran the gauntlet of the enemy's shot.' They were sent to turn the Treveran entrenchment, while the infantry attacked it in front. Those who went least way up the hills, and

nobilissimos Belgarum, in quis ducem Valentinum, cepit. 72 Cerialis postero die coloniam Treverorum ingressus est, aido milite eruendae civitatis: 'hanc esse Classici, hanc Tutoris, patriam: horum scelere clausas caesasque legiones. Quid tantum Cremonam meruisse; quam e gremio Italiae raptam, quia unius noctis moram victoribus attulerit? Stare in confinio 2 Germaniae integrum sedem, spoliis exercituum et ducum caedibus ovantem. Redigeretur praeda in fiscum: ipsis sufficere ignes et rebellis coloniae ruinas, quibus tot castrorum excidia pensarentur.' Cerialis, a metu infamiae, si licentia 3 saevitiaque inbuere militem crederetur, pressit iras. Et paruere, posito civium bello, ad externa modestiores. Con- 4 vertit inde animos accitarum e Mediomatricis legionum miserabilis aspectus. Stabant conscientia flagitii maestae, fixis in terram oculis. Nulla inter coeuntes exercitus consalutatio. Neque solantibus hortantibusve responsa dabant, abditi per tentoria et lucem ipsam vitantes. Nec perinde 5 periculum aut metus, quam pudor ac dedecus, obstupefecerat: attonitis etiam victoribus, qui vocem precesque adhibere non ausi, lacrimis ac silentio veniam poscebant: donec Cerialis mulceret animos, fato acta dictitans, quae militum ducumque discordia, vel fraude hostium, evenissent. Primum illum 6 stipendiorum et sacramenti diem haberent: priorum facinorum neque Imperatorem neque se meminisse. Tunc recepti in

so made least circuit, were those who intercepted the enemy, and captured Valentinus.

CH. LXXII. *eruendae*] A poetical word, Virg. *Aen.* ii. 612, vi. 839.

*e gremio Italiae*] Cf. Aesch. in *Ctes.* § 133, p. 72, Θῆβαι δὲ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μέλαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται. The figurative use of *gremium* is not very uncommon, e.g. Cic. *pro Caec.* xxiv. 59, *eum Q. Metellus abstraheretur e sinu gremioque patriae.*

<sup>2</sup> *Redigeretur*] They said, 'redigatur.' The sense is rather concessive than imperative.

<sup>3</sup> *a metu*] *I.q. propter metum*; so Liv. vi. 4, *non ad bellum . . . sed ab odio ad pervastandos fines*.

*infamiae*] Such as Antonius had incurred, even beyond his deserts.

<sup>4</sup> *Nulla . . . consalutatio*] As there would ordinarily have been, even in the excitement of battle, iii. 25. 1.

*5 vocem precesque*] A hendiadys; 'audible entreaties.'

eadem castra et edictum per manipulos, ne quis in certamine  
 73 jurgiove seditionem aut cladem commilitoni objectaret. Mox  
 Treveros ac Lingones, ad contionem vocatos, ita alloquitur :  
 ' Neque ego unquam facundiam exercui ; et Populi Romani  
 virtutem armis adfirmavi. Sed, quia apud vos verba plurimum 2  
 valent, bonaque ac mala non sua natura, sed vocibus seditionis  
 sorum, aestimantur, statui pauca disserere, quae, profligato  
 bello, utilius sit vobis audisse, quam nobis dixisse. Terram 3  
 vestram, ceterorumque Gallorum, ingressi sunt duces imperatoresque  
 Romani, nulla cupidine, sed majoribus vestris invocantibus,  
 quos discordiae usque ad exitium fatigabant. Et  
 acciti auxilio Germani sociis pariter atque hostibus servitutem  
 inposuerant. Quot praeliis adversus Cimbros Teutonosque, 4  
 quantis exercituum nostrorum laboribus, quove eventu Germanica  
 bella tractaverimus, satis clarum. Nec ideo Rhenum  
 insedimus, ut Italiam tueremur ; sed ne quis alias Arioistus  
 regno Galliarum potiretur. An vos cariores Civili Batavisque 5  
 et Transrhenanis gentibus creditis, quam majoribus eorum  
 patres avique vestri fuerunt ? Eadem semper causa Germanis  
 transcendendi in Gallias, libido atque avaritia et mutandae  
 sedis amor, ut, relictis paludibus et solitudinibus suis, fecundissimum  
 hoc solum vosque ipsos possiderent. Ceterum 6  
 libertas et speciosa nomina praetexuntur : nec quisquam alien-

CH. LXXIII. 1, 2 The sense is, 'I am not a talker for talking's sake like Valentinus (68. 7, 69. 4); but I must answer fools according to their folly, for your good, not for my satisfaction.'

3 *duces imperatoresque*] The first term perhaps refers to the officers of the republic, the second to Caesar. Strictly speaking, the earliest Roman intervention in Gaul, B.C. 125, was at the invitation, not of a native tribe, but of the Greeks of Massilia. But an alliance was soon concluded with

the Aedui, which led up to Fabius' defeat of the Allobroges in 121, and the first foundation of a transalpine province.

acciti . . . Germani] Under Arioistus, Caes. *B.G.* i. 31.

4 *Teutonos*] So M., and it appears to be the commoner form in the best Latin writers. The termination *-nes* is used later, being conventionally adopted as the usual one for tribal names. Cf. 55. 2.

*potiretur*] So M. here; *poteretur* is commoner.

6 *alienum servitium et domina-*

74 num servitium et dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet. Regna bellaque per Gallias semper fuere, donec in nostrum jus concederetis. Nos, quamquam totiens lacesisti, jure victoriae id solum vobis addidimus, quo pacem tueremur. Nam neque quies gentium sine armis, neque arma sine stipendiis, neque stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt. Cetera in communi sita sunt. Ipsi plerumque 2 legionibus nostris praesidetis: ipsi has aliasque provincias regitis. Nihil separatum clausumve. Et laudatorum Principum usus ex aequo, quamvis procul agentibus: saevi proximis ingruunt. Quomodo sterilitatem, aut nimios imbrues et 3 cetera naturae mala, ita luxum vel avaritiam dominantium tolerate. Vitia erunt, donec homines: sed neque haec continua, et meliorum interventu pensantur. Nisi forte, Tute 4 et Classico regnantibus, moderatius imperium speratis: aut minoribus, quam nunc, tributis parabuntur exercitus, quibus Germani Britannique arceantur. Nam pulsis (quod Dii pro-

**tionem sibi]** 'To have others for slaves, and for himself to be master.'

**CH. LXXIV. Regna]** Opposed to *jus*, as though the term had the same invidious associations to a Gaul as to a Roman. But it is doubtless true that the social liberties of the mass of the people were better secured after the Roman conquest.

**addidimus]** 'Have imposed; ' perhaps the nearest parallel is Virg. *Aen.* v. 817, *spumanteraque addit Frena feris*; *ib.* vi. 90, *Teucris addita Juno*, rather needs than affords illustration.

**2 Ipsi . . . praesidetis]** Promotion to command in the army was open to them, and their own contingents were officered by natives; but 58. 7 implies that Roman soldiers were not often in practice required to accept a Gaul as tribune or legate.

**laudatorum principum]** You got all the good that was to be got out of Claudius, and Nero did you no harm.

**3 Quomodo sterilitatem,** etc., seems to have been a Stoical commonplace, applied to politics by Stoics or others who despaired of liberty. It is first found in Sen. *de Const. Sap.* c. 9, *Omnia igitur sic patitur sapiens, ut hiemis rigorem et intemperantiam caeli*, etc.

**dominantium]** He uses a general term, to include tyrannical emperors, whose tyranny they would (he says) scarcely feel, and tyrannical governors, whom they would.

**4 Germani Britannique]** The revolt of Bondicca would make Cerialis, the wars of Agricola would make Tacitus, think of the latter as a race as formidable as the former. But, except in this point, the speaker or historian deserves credit for his prognostica-

hibeant) Romanis, quid aliud quam bella omnium inter se gentium exsistent? Octingentorum annorum fortuna discip- 5 linaque compages haec coaluit, quae convelli sine exitio convellentium non potest. Sed vobis maximum discrimen, penes quos aurum et opes, praecipuae bellorum causae. Proinde pacem et urbem, quam victi videntesque eodem jure 6 obtinemus, amate, colite. Moneant vos utriusque fortunae documenta, ne contumaciam cum pernicie, quam obsequium cum securitate, malitis.' Tali oratione graviora metuentes compositus erexitque.

75 Tenebantur victore exercitu Treveri, cum Civilis et Classi-  
cus misere epistolas ad Ceriale, quarum haec sententia fuit.  
'Vespasianum, quamquam nuntios occultarent, excessisse vita. 2  
Urbem atque Italiam interno bello consumptam. Muciani  
ac Domitiani vana et sine viribus nomina. Si Cerialis im-  
perium Galliarum velit, ipsos finibus civitatum suarum con-  
tentos; si praelium mallet, ne id quidem abnuere.' Ad ea 3

tion; when the Roman power was withdrawn, not only did Gaul change its name, but Trèves its nationality.

5 *Octingentorum*] See on 58.  
S.

compages] Similarly applied to the 'fabric' of the empire by Juv. vi. 618, *Ardebant cuncta, et fracta compage ruerant* (under the mad emperor Gaius).

6 *urbem*] Rome, not Trèves. He assumes that most of his hearers are citizens.

CH. LXXV. *Treveri*] In a geographical sense, their district.

2 *occultarent*] 'Though they (i.e. the Roman authorities) kept the news of it secret.' It seems a mistake to ask for any definite subject; so far as Civilis and Classicus took the trouble to conceive of any one as responsible, it would be rather Mucianus and Domitian than

Cerialis,—to whom they affect to be giving useful information.

**imperium Galliarum . . . civi-  
tatum suarum**] They propose to leave Cerialis to erect into an independent empire the part of Gaul that does not care for independence, while the Treveri, who would prefer it, and the Teutonic Batavians, who really want it, are withdrawn under their own chiefs. Otherwise, it was possible that the appointment of a Roman as emperor might offer the best chance of appeasing tribal jealousies.

**Si . . . velit . . . si . . .  
mallet]** Perhaps the variety of tense (cf. 20. 1 *fin.*) is not meaningless. They said, 'If you choose' (as perhaps you will) . . . 'if you preferred' (which is scarcely conceivable folly). As Tacitus is so fond of varying a constr., even without variety of meaning, it

Cerialis Civili et Classico nihil: eum qui attulerat, ipsas epistolas, ad Domitianum misit. Hostes, divisis copiis, advenere undique. Plerique culpabant Cerialem, passum jungi, quos discretos intercipere licuisset. Romanus exercitus castra fossa valloque circumdedit, quis temere antea intutis consederat. Apud Germanos diversis sententiis certabatur. Civilis, opperiendas Transrhenanorum gentes, quarum terrore fractae Populi Romani vires obtererentur. Gallos, quid aliud, quam praedam victoribus? Et tamen, quod roboris sit, Belgas, secum palam aut voto stare. Tutor, cunctatione crescere rem Romanam, adfirmabat, coeuntibus undique exercitibus. 'Transvectam e Britannia legionem: accitas ex Hispania: adventare ex Italia: nec subitum militem, sed veterem expertumque belli. Nam Germanos, qui ab ipsis sperentur, non juberi, non regi, sed cuncta ex libidine agere:

seems better not to read *malit*; though M. has *mallit*, which is almost as near to one as the other.

3 *eum qui attulerat, ipsas epistolas*] So to be punctuated, if the words are right; but the asyndeton is harsh, and editors are tempted to read *et ipsas*.

ad D. *misit* probably implies that he did not 'recognise the rebels as belligerents,' so as to be bound by the laws of war to respect their envoy; it may, however, mean only that he referred them to Caesar as the only person competent to negotiate. In either case, the object was to place his own loyalty above suspicion: if he had simply sent the messenger back, both his soldiers and the government might have suspected him of entertaining the proposal.

3 *divisis copiis*] 70. 1, 2; 71. 3.

*licuisset*] Tacitus, by the choice of mood, avoids making himself responsible for the opinion he reports.

4 *intutis* must mean 'unforti-

fied,' not 'unguarded,' as in Liv. v. 45, *castra Gallorum intuta negligaque ab omni parte*, which Or. compares. Perhaps the nearest approach to this use is sup. iii. 76. 2.

CH. LXXVI. *Gallos . . . victoribus*] Cf. 61. 2. We are perhaps to understand that he admitted the claim of the Treveri (*Grm.* 28. 4) to rank as cis-Rhenane Germans; he urges them like himself and his countrymen to trust in their kindred over the Rhine, not their feeble neighbours.

quod . . . *Belgas*] So Caes. B. G. i. 1, *horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae*.

2 *Transvectam . . . legionem*] The fourteenth, 68. 5.

3 *Nam*] The connection is,— 'The prospect of the enemy being reinforced ought to settle the question, for their own reinforcements are uncertain.'

non *juberi*] 'Would not take orders;' cf. i. 83. 6.

pecuniamque ac dona, quis solis corrumpantur, majora apud Romanos, et neminem adeo in arma primum, ut non idem pretium quietis, quam periculi, malit. Quod si statim con- 4 grediantur, nullas esse Ceriali, nisi ex reliquiis Germanici exercitus, legiones, foederibus Galliarum obstrictas. Idque ipsum, quod inconditam nuper Valentini manum contra spem suam fuderint, alimentum illis ducique temeritatis. Ausuros 5 rursus venturosque in manus, non inperiti adulescentuli, verba et contiones, quam ferrum et arma, meditantis, sed Civilis et Classici: quos ubi aspicerint, reddituram in animos formidinem, fugam famemque ac totiens captis precariam vitam. Neque Treveros aut Lingonas benevolentia contineri: resumpturos arma, ubi metus abscesserit.' Diremit consiliorum 6 diversitatem, adprobata Tutoris sententia, Classicus: statim- 77 que exsequuntur. Media acies Ubiis Lingonibusque data: dextro cornu cohortes Batavorum: sinistro Bructeri Tencteri- que. Pars montibus, alii viam inter Mosellamque flumen,

*quis solis corrumpantur]* 'The only means for *bribing* them to act,' —an ironical pregnancy of words, implying that to bribe is the only means of inducing them. Cf. 78. 1.

*4 foederibus]* It is strange that he should think of the mutiny at Novesium as imposing a moral obligation; if it had, the violation of the capitulation of Vetera might be held to have annulled it.

*contra spem suam]* This is utterly false (see 71. 5, *spreto hoste*) if understood in the obvious sense, 'contrary to their (the Romans') own expectation'; it seems possible, especially as *suam* is followed by *illis*, to take it as meaning—'unexpectedly to them (the German and Treveran leaders),' who had sent orders to Valentinus to avoid a battle.

*5 verba et contiones, etc.]* 69. 4

*Civilis et Classici]* Though he sneers at poor Valentinus' rhetoric, he is not above trying the persuasive force of compliments on his colleagues, and succeeds with his brother Gaul.

*reddituram . . . vitam]* They would remember (1) what defeats they sustained and what sufferings they endured before they had surrendered; (2) how unlikely either side was to trust them, when they had changed sides so often. As to *famem*, we must remember that more than 1000 of the men who deserted Voclula had been in the first siege of Vetera. *Totiens captis* refers to their desertion, capable of being described as a capitulation, first to Classicus, and then to Cerialis.

*CH. LXXVII. Ubiis]* They are now committed to the revolt from Rome; see cc. 64-5.

*Lingonibus]* The state had sub-

tam impropositi adsiluere, ut in cubiculo ac lectulo Cerialis (neque enim noctem in castris egerat,) pugnari simul vincique suos audierit, increpans pavorem nuntiantium, donec universa clades in oculis fuit. Perrupta legionum castra, fusi equites : 2 mediis Mosellae pons, qui ulteriora coloniae annexit, ab hostibus insessus. Cerialis, turbidis rebus intrepidus et fugientes manu retrahens, intecto corpore promptus inter tela, felici temeritate et fortissimi cujusque adcursu, reciperatum pontem electa manu firmavit. Mox in castra reversus, 3 palantes captarum apud Novesium Bonnamque legionum manipulos et rarum apud signa militem ac prope circumventas aquilas videt. Incensus ira, 'non Flaccum,' inquit, 'non Vocabam deseritis. Nulla hic proditio: neque aliud excusandum habeo, quam quod vos, Galici foederis oblitos, redisse in memoriam Romani sacramenti, temere credidi. Adnumerabor Numisiis et Herenniis: ut omnes Legati vestri, aut militum manibus, aut hostium, ceciderint. Ite, nuntiate 5

mitted, but there was still a contingent in arms in the confederate force.

**in cubiculo ac lectulo]** Similarly coupled in 24. 3. The *cubiculum* might be used as a study (e.g. *Dial.* 3. 1); being there did not prove a man to be helpless or heedless, as being in bed did.

**neque enim]** Cf. v. 22. 4. He was habitually luxurious, if not vicious.

**2 legionum castra]** Evidently on the left bank of the river.

**mediis M. pons]** Was there a turreted gateway over the bridge, up to which the Germans had penetrated, after forcing the camp and the *tête du pont*? The Roman bridge, which was in the middle of the town, has now disappeared.

**turbidis . . . intrepidus** describes his habitual character, as well as his behaviour now.

**3 apud Novesium Bonnamque]** We heard of the surrender of Vocabula's army at the former place in 57. 4 *sqq.* Bonna, the next town above the Agrippine colony, was naturally one principal scene of the surrender of 59. 4, though not mentioned.

**non Flaccum . . . non Vocabam]** Both had been half-hearted as long as Civilis professed to be acting in the interest of Vespasian. Otherwise, Vocabula had behaved better than Herennius; if the latter's faults were held to be purged by his death, the former's ought to have been. But in pardoning the troops, Cerialis had thought it wise to throw as much blame as possible on the generals who could not be hurt by it, 72. 5 *fin.*

**4 Adnumerabor . . . ceciderint]** Tacitus was not led to ask himself whether the tone of the speech was

Vespasiano, vel, quod proprius est, Civili et Classico, relictum a vobis in acie ducem. Venient legiones, quae neque me 78 inultum, neque vos impunitos, patiantur.' Vera erant, et a Tribunis Praefectisque eadem ingerebantur. Consistunt per cohortes et manipulos: neque enim poterat patescere acies, effuso hoste, et impedientibus tentoriis sarcinisque, cum intra vallum pugnaretur. Tutor et Classicus et Civilis, suis quisque 2 locis, pugnam ciebant: Gallos pro libertate, Batavos pro gloria, Germanos ad praedam instigantes. Et cuncta pro hostibus erant, donec legio unaetvicesima, patentiore, quam ceterae, spatio congregabat, sustinuit ruentes; mox impulit. Nec sine ope divina, mutatis repente animis, terga victores 3 vertere. Ipsi territos se cohortium aspectu ferebant, quae, primo impetu disjectae, summis rursus jugis congregabantur, ac speciem novi auxilii fecerant. Sed obstitit vincentibus 4 pravom inter ipsos certamen, omisso hoste, spolia consecrandi. Cerialis, ut incuria prope rem afflxit, ita constantia restituit; 5 secutusque fortunam castra hostium eodem die capit exscinditque. Nec in longum quies militi data. Orabant auxilium 79 Agrippinenses, offerebantque uxorem ac sororem Civilis et

what we should express by the auxiliary 'shall' or 'will,'—whether he means principally 'I will add one to the number of the officers who by their death have purged themselves of the disgrace you incur,' or 'I see I shall complete the tale of officers whom you have killed or allowed to be killed.' *Ceciderint* illustrates the close approximation of the future-perfect to a subjunctive tense; here the construction proves that Tacitus regards it as subjunctive.

CH. LXXVIII. 2 *suis quisque locis*] Are we to understand, comparing this clause with the next, and with 77. 1, that Tutor commanded in the centre, Classicus on the right, and Civilis on the left? It is intelligible that such an arrangement

might be adopted, as giving each division a commander more or less acquainted with them, while yet it gave a real national leader to none.

3 *ope divina*] A panic.

Ipsi . . . ferebant] An indication that Tacitus collected his information on the spot.

CH. LXXIX. *Agrippinenses*] So they are naturally called rather than *Ubii*, when they recognise their allegiance to Rome. At the same time, there is possibly a certain distinction between the persons indicated by the two names. *Agrippinenses* will mean the people of the colony, *Ubii* the whole tribe, who very likely were *περιοικοι*, much less Romanised than their capital, and not very well affected to it.

uxorem . . . *Classici*] Civilis'

filiam Classici, relicta sibi pignora societatis. Atque interim 2 dispersos in domibus Germanos trucidaverant; unde metus et justae preces invocantium, antequam hostes, reparatis viribus, ad spem vel ad ultionem accingerentur. Namque et 3 Civilis illuc intenderat, non invalidus, flagrantissima cohortium suarum integra, quae e Chaucis Frisiisque composita Tolbiaci in finibus Agrippinensium agebat. Sed tristis nuntius avertit, 4 deletam cohortem dolo Agrippinensium, qui largis epulis vinoque sopitos Germanos, clausis foribus, igne injecto cremavere. Simul Cerialis propero agmine subvenit. Circum- 5 steterat Civilem et alias metus, ne quarta decima legio, adjuncta Britannica classe, afflictaret Batavos, qua Oceano ambiuntur. Sed legionem terrestri itinere Fabius Priscus legatus in Nervios Tungrosque duxit, eaeque civitates in ditionem acceptae. Classem ultro Canninefates adgressi 6 sunt, majorque pars navium depressa aut capta. Et Nerviorum multitudinem, sponte commotam ut pro Romanis bellum capesseret, iidem Canninefates fudere. Classicus quoque adversus equites Novesium a Ceriale praemissos secundum

son (63. 2) had rejoined his father. The surrender of the hostages appears *prima facie* treacherous, but perhaps we may infer that German honour did not condemn it, comparing Segestes' surrender of his daughter, the wife of Arminius, in *Ann. i. 57 sq.* But *justae preces* in the next § suggests that Tacitus was quite willing to excuse, and Cerialis no doubt to accept, any treachery committed in the interests of Rome; theirs was anyhow gross enough.

3 **flagrantissima**] Rarely used of persons absolutely, without an abl. expressing the enflaming cause.

4 **Chaucis Frisiisque**] Civilis has organised a cohort (not a mere *caterva*) of his northern neighbours, who have come to some extent

under Roman influence through the Batavians. The Bructeri and Tencerti fight independently, but the Chauci, beyond these to the north-east, come in smaller numbers, and so he feels able to embody them in the corps he hopes to make most efficient.

4 **foribus**] Of their quarters or barrack, where the feast took place.

5 **terrestri itinere**] Presumably by the military road still traceable from Boulogne to Tongres.

6 **ultro**] Not 'without orders from Civilis,' but 'without waiting for the Romans to attack them.' They had joined the insurrection from the first, and had a commander of their own, 15. 2.

praelium fecit. Quae modica sed crebra damna famam 7  
victoriae nuper partae lacerabant.

80 Isdem diebus Mucianus Vitellii filium interfici jubet, manusram discordiam obtendens, ni semina belli restinxisset. Neque Antonium Primum adsciri inter comites a Domitiano passus est, favore militum anxius et superbia viri, aequalium quoque, adeo superiorum intolerantis. Profectus ad Vespasianum Antonius ut non pro spe sua excipitur, ita neque averso imperatoris animo. Trahebatur in diversa, hinc meritis Antonii, cuius ductu confectum haud dubie bellum erat, inde Muciani epistolis: simul ceteri ut infestum tumidumque insectabantur, adjunctis prioris vitae criminibus. Neque ipse 3  
deerat adrogantia vocare offensas, nimius commemorandis quae meruisset. Alios ut inbelles, Caecinam ut captivom ac dediticium increpat. Unde paulatim levior viliorque haberi, manente tamen in speciem amicitia.

81 Per eos menses, quibus Vespasianus Alexandriae statos aestivis flatibus dies et certa maris opperiebatur, multa miracula evenere, quis caelstis favor et quaedam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderetur. E plebe Alexandrina 2  
quidam oculorum tabe notus genua ejus advolvitur, remedium caecitatis exposcens gemitu, monitu Serapidis dei, quem

CH. LXXX. **Vitellii filium**] The child Germanicus, ii. 59. 5.

**adeo**] Virtually equivalent to *nedum*, translatable 'much more' or 'much less,' as *Ann.* iii. 34. 3, *ne conjugum quidem penates, adeo socios*; vi. 15. 6, *ne tecta quidem urbis, adeo publicum consilium*. The use is an extension of that of *atque adeo*, 'and in fact.'

**2 criminibus**] See on ii. 86. 2.

**3 vocare**] 'To challenge,' one of Tacitus' tricks of using a simple verb in the sense of a compound. So *Germ.* 14. 5, *vocare hostem*; cf. *Virg. Georg.* iv. 76.

**Caecinam**] Who had been sent to Vespasian immediately after the battle of Cremona, iii. 31 *fin.*

CH. LXXXI. **statos . . . dies**] Settled weather for navigation was reckoned to begin from May 26th, the Etesian north-west winds (ii. 98. 3) set in in the late summer, hence Vespasian, sailing in May or June, may have been at Rome by midsummer; see on 53. 1.

**2 oculorum tabe**] Or. takes the word as a technical term, *i.e.* *φθίσις*, which a gloss ascribed to Galen describes as blindness from contraction of the pupil.

dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit; precabaturque principem ut genas et oculorum orbes dignaretur respargere oris excremento. Alius, manum aeger, eodem deo auctore, 3 ut pede ac vestigio Caesaris calcaretur orabat. Vespasianus primo inridere, aspernari; atque illis instantibus modo famam vanitatis metuere, modo obsecratione ipsorum et vocibus adulantium in spem induci. Postremo a estimari a medicis 4 jubet an talis caecitas ac debilitas ope humana superabiles forent. Medici varie disserere: huic non exesam vim luminis, et reddituram, si pellerentur obstantia; illi elapsos in pravum artus, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari. Id fortasse 5 cordi diis, et divino ministerio principem electum; denique patrati remedii gloriam penes Caesarem, inriti ludibrium penes miseros fore. Igitur Vespasianus, cuncta fortunae suae 6 patere ratus nec quicquam ultra incredibile, laeto ipse voltu, erecta quae adstabat multitudine, jussa exsequitur. Statim 7 conversa ad usum manus, ac caeco reluxit dies. Utrumque, qui interfuerent, nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium.

82 Altior inde Vespasiano cupido adeundi sacram sedem, ut super rebus imperii consuleret. Arceri templo cunctos jubet. Atque ingressus intentusque numini, respexit pone tergum e 2

**oris excremento]** We have the same periphrasis or euphemism in *Ann. xvi. 4. 2.* Commentators on St. John ix. 6 speak of medicinal virtues (especially for the eyes) being ascribed to spittle; see Plin. *H. N. xxviii. 7.*

**3 manum aeger]** Suetonius says he was lame, which makes the cure by the *foot* more natural.

**3 a estimari a medicis]** Possibly they did not confine themselves to diagnosis. At the same time, in the second case at least, it is possible that a nervous infirmity might be cured by a strong force working on the imagination, and very possible

that it might appear cured for the moment to the sufferer and bystanders. The blind man's cure is harder to account for without the supposition of fraud, but he may have had better living than he was used to while under examination. The frequent efficacy of 'touching for the king's evil' is rationalised on the latter ground.

**7 qui interfuerent]** We are not told that the men themselves persisted equally in the assertion that they were cured.

**CH. LXXXII. 2 respexit pone tergum]** Probably turning, after his prayer, *ominis captandi causa.*

primoribus Aegyptiorum nomine Basiliden, quem procul Alexandria plurium dierum itinere et aegro corpore detineri haud ignorabat. Percunctatur sacerdotes num illo die Basi- 3 lides templum inisset; percunctatur obvios num in urbe visus sit: denique, missis equitibus, explorat illo temporis momento octoginta milibus passuum afuisse. Tunc divinam speciem S. 3 et vim responsi ex nomine Basilidis interpretatus est. **Origo** dei nondum nostris auctoribus celebrata: Aegyptiorum antistes sic memorant; Ptolemaeo regi, qui Macedonum primus Aegypti opes firmavit, cum Alexandriae recens conditae moenia templaque et religiones adderet, oblatum per quietem decore eximio et majore quam humana specie juvenem, qui moneret ut, fidissimis amicorum in Pontum missis, effigiem suam acciret: laetum id regno, magnamque et inclutam

Basilides being well known in Egypt, it would be easy to dress up a double or a puppet to represent him, to be shown to Vespasian either bodily or by a combination of mirrors. At the same time, we should remember that the wraiths of sick (generally, but not always, dying) persons are the most frequent and best attested class of 'supernatural' apparitions. And Vespasian was in the frame of mind most favourable to seeing visions.

**e primoribus Aeg.]** Suetonius says he was a freedman of Vespasian's own.

**Basiliden]** Plainly a different person from the Carmelite priest, ii. 78. 6; nevertheless the recollection of his name may have played some part in suggesting the vision, if we suppose it to have been subjective.

**3 Tunc . . . interpretatus est]** A zeugma, the verb being used in somewhat different senses in the two clauses, the more proper in the latter; 'he inferred the vision to be supernatural, and traced the oracle's meaning in the derivation

of the man's name,'—that Basilides promised him the *βασιλεῖα*.

**CH. LXXXIII. Origo . . . memorant]** We have a similar quasi-Herodotean excursus on the Paphian Venus, ii. 3. Serapis was, as appears from inscriptions, already a popular object of worship at Rome. Or. supposes that Tacitus wished to prove that he was a tolerably respectable one.

**Ptolemaeo regi, qui . . . primus . . . firmavit]** Tacitus felt that it would be a great convenience to distinguish the homonymous kings of the Egyptian and Syrian dynasties in modern fashion, as 'Ptolemy I.' and 'Ptolemy III.' instead of the epithets Soter and Euergetes, which he hardly knew whether to translate or to reproduce as proper names. Here he introduces the word *primus*, while paraphrasing *Soter*; in 84. 6 he paraphrastically introduces the numeral without the title. Josephus does write *Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἔκτον*, *B. J. i. 1 init.*

**in Pontum]** According to Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* c. 28), he named no place: Ptolemy had to inquire

sedem fore, quae excepisset. Simul visum eundem juvenem in caelum igne plurimo attolli. Ptolemaeus, omine et mira- 2 culo excitus, sacerdotibus Aegyptiorum, quibus mos talia intellegere, nocturnos visus aperit. Atque illis Ponti et externorum parum gnaris, Timotheum Atheniensem e gente Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistitem caerimoniarum Eleusine exciverat, quaenam illa supersticio, quod numen, interrogat. Timotheus, quaesitis qui in Pontum meâssent, cognoscit 3 urbem illic Sinopen, nec procul templum, vetere inter accolas fama, Jovis Ditis: namque et muliebrem effigiem adsistere, quam plerique Proserpinam vocent. Sed Ptolemaeus, ut sunt 4 ingenia regum, pronus ad formidinem, ubi securitas rediit, voluptatum quam religionum adpetens, neglegere paulatim, aliasque ad curas animum vertere, donec eadem species terribilior jam et instantior exitium ipsi regnoque denuntiaret, ni jussa patrarentur. Tum legatos et dona Scydrothemidi regi 5

from travellers where a god was worshipped of form and attributes such as he had seen. His account does not differ very widely from Tacitus'; Eustathius (a learned bishop of the twelfth century, who commented on ancient literature from Homer downwards), dwells more on the vagueness of the search, and makes the Egyptians be guided to Sinope by the Delphic oracle, not by an Athenian at Alexandria. He is however too late a writer for discrepancies of details to be important; it deserves more attention that Clemens Alexandrinus ascribes the mission to Sinope neither to Soter nor Euergetes, but to Ptolemy II., Philadelphus. Neither Plutarch nor St. Clement knows of the visit to Delphi; it is not likely that Eustathius used Tacitus, but rather a Greek account, closely resembling his.

**2 supersticio]** Used also without any bad sense in Sen. *Ep.* 95, *vir-*

*tutis quadam superstitione teneantur.* Possibly we ought to take Cicero's word (*de N. D.* ii. 28. 72) for the bad sense being the primitive one, though his derivation is absurd enough; we then might explain it as meaning simply 'excess,' making the root *sto* in the termination as nearly meaningless as possible. It seems however to suit better with the usage of the word, to suppose the primitive sense to have been good, or at least neutral. In *Aen.* xii. 817, the play on the words *supersticio superis* suggests that, at least in Virgil's time, the etymological meaning was a sense of a power *above* one, but, as this derivation accounts for the termination no better than the last, some suggest that the first meaning is *i.q. ἐπιστήμη*, and the history of the word similar to that of 'wizard.' In old Latin the word is generally applied to diviners and divination.

**3 Jovis Ditis]** Plutarch *l.c.* says

(is tunc Sinopensibus imperitabat,) expediri jubet; praecepitque navigaturis ut Pythicum Apollinem adeant. Illis mare 6 secundum, sors oraculi haud ambigua: 'irent, simulacrumque 84 patris sui reverenter, sororis relinquenter.' Ut Sinopen venere, munera, preces, mandata regis sui Scydrothemidi adlegendant. Qui versus animi modo numen pavescere, modo minis adversantis populi terreri; saepe donis promissisque legatorum flectebatur. Atque interim triennio exacto, Ptole- 2 maeus non studium, non preces omittere. Dignitatem legatorum, numerum navium, auri pondus augebat. Tum minax 3 facies Scydrothemidi offertur, ne destinata deo ultra moraretur. Cunctantem varia pernicies, morbique et manifesta caelestium ira, graviorque in dies fatigabat. Advocata contione jussa numinis, suos Ptolemaeique visus, ingruentia mala exponit. Volgus aversari regem, invidere Aegypto, sibi metuere tem- 4 plumque circumsedere. Major hinc fama tradidit, deum ipsum adpulsas litori navis sponte consendisse. Mirum inde dictu, tertio die tantum maris emensi Alexandriam adpelluntur. Templum pro magnitudine urbis exstructum 5 loco cui nomen Rhacotis. Fuerat illic sacellum Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitus sacratum. Haec de origine et advectu

that the statue was inferred to represent Pluto, from a Cerberus and a dragon being among his attributes. Tacitus implies, that this identification was only an inference.

6 *patris . . . sororis*] A curious effect of the identification of Dis with Jove; perhaps we are also to infer that Proserpine is identified with Diana, though in any case she would be half-sister to Apollo.

CH. LXXXIV. *versus*] Almost a present participle: continually changing his mind.

2-4] According to St. Clement, the people of Sinope gave up the image, in requital for help given to them in a famine: which may be

either an attempt to rationalise the story of the gifts and the plagues which Tacitus heard, or may, if the whole thing be historical at all, have been the source of it. According to Plutarch, Ptolemy's emissaries *χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ μόλις, οὐκ ἀνευ μεντοι θελα προνολας, ηγαγον ἐκκλέψαντες.*

4 *Major hinc fama*] Probably, 'here begins a more wonderful story: ' though Or. understands it, 'at this point the *more prevalent* story is . . . .

5 *Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitus*] Tacitus therefore is not ignorant that Serapis was a native Egyptian god,—in fact, apparently,

dei celeberrima. Nec sum ignarus esse quosdam qui Seleucia, 6  
urbe Syiae, accitum, regnante Ptolemaeo, quem tertia aetas  
tulit; alii auctorem eundem Ptolemaeum, sedem ex qua  
transierit Memphim perhibent, inclutam olim et veteris  
Aegypti columen. Deum ipsum multi Aesculapium, quod 7  
medeatur aegris corporibus, quidam Osirin, antiquissimum  
illis gentibus numen, plerique Jovem, ut rerum omnium  
potentem, plurimi Ditem patrem, insignibus quae in ipso  
manifesta, aut per ambages conjectant.

85 At Domitianus Mucianusque, antequam Alpibus propin-  
quarent, prosperos rerum in Treveris gestarum nuntios acce-  
pere. Praecipua victoriae fides dux hostium Valentinus, 2  
nequaquam abjecto animo, quos spiritus gessisset, voltu fere-  
bat. Auditus ideo tantum, ut nosceretur ingenium ejus, 3  
damnatusque, inter ipsum supplicium exprobranti cuidam  
patriam ejus captam, 'accipere se solatium mortis' respondit.  
Sed Mucianus quod diu occultaverat, ut recens exprompsit: 4

the Osiris (nearly = *Dii Manes*) of Apis: it is only the image at Alexandria, and the great temple built for it, which he describes as derived from the mission to Sinope.

6 *quosdam*] Isidorus alone, according to St. Clement, *i.c.*

7 *eundem*] Probably the first mentioned, not the last.

Memphim] The most credible *a priori* of the stories, and, it is plausibly suggested, the source of all the rest. According to Eustathius, there was a Mount Sinopium at Memphis: Greeks adopting the Egyptian worship called Serapis 'the Sinopian Zeus:' and Greeks of a later generation, or less acquainted with native Egyptian nomenclature, immediately thought of Sinope in Pontus.

7 *multi . . . quidam . . . plerique . . . plurimi*] Compare for the climax in these words *i. 39. 1, alii*

*. . . alii . . . plerique . . . plures; v.  
2. 3, 3. 1, quidam . . . plerique . . .  
sunt qui . . . alii . . . plurimi.*

*insignibus]* See on 83. 3.

*per ambages]* 'Allegorically', appropriate to a god of the dead.

CH. LXXXV. 2 Valentinus] 71. *fin.*

*quos spiritus gessisset]* 'The pride he had displayed' in his windy speeches.

3 *ingenium*] 'His temper.' For lifelike pictures of character, even in subordinate figures like Valentinus, Tacitus' *Histories* are unequalled in Latin literature. Those of the *Annals*, if more brilliant, are less natural.

*accipere se solatium mortis]* So *Agr. 44. 5, festinatae mortis grande solatium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus*, etc.: which proves that the sense is, 'he accepted that as a consolation for his death' (*i.e.* that

‘quoniam benignitate deum fractae hostium vires forent, parum decore Domitianum, confecto prope bello, alienae gloriae interventurum. Si status imperii aut salus Galliarum 5 in discrimine verteretur, debuisse Caesarem in acie stare: Canninefates Batavosque minoribus ducibus delegandos. Ipse 6 Lugduni vim fortunamque principatus e proximo ostentaret, nec parvis periculis inmixtus, et majoribus non defuturus.’

86 Intellegebant artes; sed pars obsequii in eo, ne deprehenderentur. Ita Lugdunum ventum. Unde creditur Domitianus occultis ad Cerialeum nuntiis fidem ejus tentavisse, an praesenti sibi exercitum imperiumque traditurus foret. Qua 2 cogitatione bellum adversus patrem agitaverit, an opes viresque adversus fratrem, in incerto fuit: nam Cerialis salubri temperamento elusit, ut vana pueriliter cupientem. Domitianus sperni a senioribus juventam suam cernens, modica quoque et usurpata antea munia imperii omittebat, simplicitatis ac modestiae imagine in altitudinem conditus, studiumque

dying young ceased to be a misfortune, when it spared him the sight of his country's slavery), not that 'he accepted the consolation of death,' *i.e.* death as a consolation for the worse bitterness already past.

5 *verteretur*] 'Exquisitus quam versaretur,' Or.: *i.e.* it presents a metaphor (the turn of a balance?), while the other has ceased to have any figurative force.

*Caesarem*] 'A Caesar,' one of the imperial family, while the others were waging an equally important war elsewhere. Possibly the term is also used as in a sense correlative to *Galliarum*, 'one bearing the name of their original conqueror.'

CH. LXXXVI. **parts obsequii**] 'Part of their deference' not only to him, but to Domitian, 'consisted in not detecting them.' It would have been as offensive to tell the prince, 'Your minister cannot trust you,' as to tell the minister, 'You are

trying to discredit the prince.' For the sentiment, cf. *Ann.* xiv. 6. 1. *Pars* seems most simply taken as above: but we might translate, 'it was the part of courtliness not to detect'—*parts* being, rarely in Augustan but more frequently in later Latin, used in the same sense as *partes*.

**in eo, ne]** Ordinary grammatical rules would require *in eo ut non*.

**2 opes viresque adversus fratrem]** After his accession, it was considered courteous to assume that he had what he was suspected of having desired—that he was distinguishing himself in the north-west at the same time as his brother was in the south-east.

**3 modica . . . munia]** See 2. 1, 3. 5, 39. 2.

**in altitudinem conditus]** As we might say, 'burying himself deeply': 'wrapped himself in a profound reserve,' C. and B.

literarum et amorem carminum simulans, quo velaret animum, et fratri aemulationi subduceretur, cuius disparem mitioremque naturam contra interpretabatur.

**carminum]** They are highly praised by contemporaries, of all characters from Quintilian to Martial. Some ascribe to him the translation of Aratus which bears the name of 'Germanicus Caesar :' but more probably that is the work of the person commonly known to history under the title, the nephew of

Tiberius.

**contra]** Not so much 'contrary to the truth,' denying him to be gentle and unlike himself, as 'in the opposite direction' to the natural one—that he affected amiability, so as to get favour at Domitian's expense from his father and the people.

CORNELII TACITI  
HISTORIARUM  
LIBER QUINTUS.

I EJUSDEM anni principio Caesar Titus, perdomandae Judaeae delectus a patre, et privatis utriusque rebus militia clarus, majore tum vi famaque agebat, certantibus provinciarum et exercituum studiis. Atque ipse, ut super fortunam crederetur, 2 decorum se promptumque in armis ostendebat, comitate et adloquiis officia provocans, ac plerumque in opere, in agmine gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore. Tres eum 3 in Judaea legiones, quinta et decuma et quintadecuma, vetus Vespasiani miles, excepere. Addidit e Suria duodecumam,

CH. I. **delectus**] It was not a matter of course that he should succeed his father in the command : there were several able officers there, as Cerialis, Placidus, and the elder Trajan. And the anarchy of the last year had so demoralised public feeling, that Titus after his victory, as well as Domitian now (iv. 86. 2), were suspected of disaffection to their father.

**privatis . . . clarus**] See on ii. 77. 2. Titus had also distinguished himself in the earlier part of the Jewish war, before the death of Nero. *Privatis* is a self-evident correction for *platis*, i.e. *praedatis*.

**2 ut super fortunam crederetur]** To prove that he was not dependent

on fortune for his eminence, as his merits were even higher than his present position as consul, general, and Caesar. We must remember that the family of Sabinus and Vespasian had no distinction : its rise would be treated as a ridiculous caprice of fortune, unless their merit was shown to account for it.

**in armis**] In actual fighting : opposed to 'in the trenches or on the march' (*in opere, in agmine*).

**officia]** 'A willing obedience,' C. and B. ; the men were glad to do him a personal favour, and in good humour with their military duties also.

**3 duodecumam**] The one defeated under Gallus at the beginning

et abductos Alexandria duoetvicesimanos tertianosque. Comi- 4  
tabantur viginti sociae cohortes, octo equitum alae, simul  
Agrippa Sohaemusque reges, et auxilia regis Antiochi, valida-  
que et, solito inter accolias odio, infensa Judaeis Arabum  
manus; multi quos urbe atque Italia sua quemque spes  
acciverat occupandi principem adhuc vacuum. His cum 5  
copiis fines hostium ingressus composito agmine, cuncta  
explorans paratusque decernere, haud procul Hierosolymis  
2 castra facit. Sed quoniam famosae urbis supremum diem  
tradituri sumus, congruens videtur primordia ejus aperire.

Judeos, Creta insula profugos, novissima Libyae insedisse 2  
memorant, qua tempestate Saturnus vi Jovis pulsus cesserit

of the war, having also (*Ann. xv. 26. 1*) suffered severely in Corbulo's campaigns. Compare *Jos. B. J. v. 1. 6*.

**duoetvicesimanos tertianosque]** The *duoetvicesima Deiotariana*, to be distinguished from the *Primitigenia*, i. 18. 4; and the *tertia Gallica*, which had been sent back (iv. 39. 6) after the campaign against Vitellius. From Josephus (*B. J. iv. 11. 5, v. 1. 6*) it appears that Titus did not bring the two whole legions with him, but a picked force of 2000 men from them.

**4 Sohaemus]** Josephus always spells him *Σθέμος*. He was king of Emesa, brother and successor to Aziz, the first husband of Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa. See *Jos. Ant. xx. 7. 1, 8. 4 init.*

**Antiochi]** See on ii. 25. 3, 81. 1. Epiphanes joined the army later, with a further force, disciplined in the Macedonian manner: he and they seem to have displayed a good deal of useless gallantry, *Jos. B. J. vii. 3*. Josephus gives less detail than Tacitus as to the allied forces now mustered; *ib. ii. 18. 9* he estimates the royal contingents at nearly 14,000 men. Vespasian had begun the war with 60,000 in all

(*B. J. iii. 4. 2*); Titus' reinforcements must have more than made up for the numbers lost in the campaign or drawn off for the civil war. Dr. Merivale's estimate of 80,000 for the whole besieging army is perhaps not too much.

**occupandi . . . vacuum]** 'Of being the *first* to secure an emperor not yet pre-engaged.' Titus was not strictly speaking *princeps*, but it seemed more profitable to court a future emperor who had not chosen his favourites, than even an actual one who presumably had. For the sense of *vacuum*, compare the legal application to ownerless property, *e.g. Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 50*, *in vacuum venias*, or still more that of *mulier vacua*, *Ann. xiii. 44. 2*.

**5 composito agmine]** The order of march is minutely described by Josephus, *v. 2. 1*.

**haud procul H.]** At Gibeal of Saul, thirty stadia from Jerusalem, *Jos. I. c.* Compare *Is. x. 29*, for the natural line of march upon the town.

**CH. II. famosae]** See on *i. 10. 1*.

**2 Creta insula]** The Idaei do not elsewhere appear as a nation, but the name is an epithet of the Dactyli, local genii attendant on

regnis. Argumentum e nomine petitur: inclitum in Creta Idam montem; accolas Idaeos aucto in barbarum cognomento Judaeos vocitari. Quidam regnante Iside exundantem per 3 Aegyptum multitudinem, ducibus Hierosolymo ac Juda, proximas in terras exoneratam; plerique Aethiopum prolem, quos, rege Cepheo, metus atque odium mutare sedes perpulerit. Sunt qui tradant Assyrios convenas, indigum agrorum populum, 4 parte Aegypti potitos, mox proprias urbes Hebraeasque terras et propria Syriae coluisse. Clara alii Judaeorum initia,

the infant Zeus. But when the legend of Saturn and Jove is rationalised, they of course become a tribe, expelled with the former.

**e nomine]** And possibly from nothing else. It is however also possible, that the Israelite immigrants into Palestine were in (Phoenician?) tradition confounded with the Philistine immigrants (see Amos ix. 7), who came from an 'isle' or sea-coast (Jer. xlvi. 4), which *may* have been Crete. For this identification, however, the argument is little better than Tacitus': it rests chiefly on the likeness of name between *Kρήτη* and *Crēthim* (A. V. Cherethites) a race who seem to be identical or intermixed with the Philistines, 2 Sam. viii. 18, etc., Ezek. xxv. 16, Zeph. ii. 5.

**in barbarum]** 'Lengthened into a barbaric form,' *i.e.* one that does not bear on its surface an etymology intelligible to a Latin or Greek ear, as *Idaci* would. For the form of sentence, cf. *Ann.* vi. 42. 1, *neque in barbarum corrupta* (of the name of Seleucia).

**3 reguante Iside, etc.]** Another version of the story in c. 3, only differing in throwing back the migration into prehistoric times. Hierosolymus and Judaeus are sons of Typhon, in a story reported by Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.* c. 31.

**Aethiopum . . . Cepheo]** The legend of Andromeda was localised

at the rocks of Joppa, *Jos. B. J.* iii. 9. 3: so Pliny, Pomponius Mela, etc.

**metus atque odium]** Against Cepheus. Tacitus (or indeed the legend he records) is not quite sure whether to conceive the Jews as driven *from* or *into* Palestine.

**4 Sunt qui, etc.]** A version, however indirectly obtained, of the scriptural story. Tacitus could hardly have been expected to read the Septuagint Pentateuch: if he had ever seen it, he would have felt very uncertain of its historical character. But Josephus' *Antiquities*, published (*op. cit. fin.*) in the thirteenth year of Domitian, must have been accessible to him; at the same time, it had not been in circulation long enough to disarm the prejudice felt against the work of a Jew. Tacitus probably had hardly read it, and if he had, would have thought still that the presumption was in favour of the Egyptian story. It is supposed, that what he here refers to was less the scriptural story itself than that of Justin (xxxvi. 2), and Nicolaus of Damascus (4), who derive Abraham from Damascus. But this is itself probably founded on traditions starting from the biblical version; for Abraham's visit to Damascus see *Gen. xv. 2*.

**Clara]** Because Homer calls them *κυνόδαίμονες*, *Ili. vi. 184*, and says they were the most formidable *men* ever

Solymos, carminibus Homeri celebratam gentem, conditae  
 3 urbi Hierosolyma nomen e suo fecisse. Plurimi auctores  
 consentiunt, orta per Aegyptum tabe quae corpora foedaret,  
 regem Bocchorim, adito Hammonis oraculo, remedium peten-  
 tem, purgare regnum et id genus hominum, ut invisum diis,  
 alias in terras avehere jussum. Sic conquisitum collectumque  
 2 volgus, postquam vastis locis relictum sit, ceteris per lacrimas  
 torpentibus, Moysen, unum exsulum, monuisse, ne quam

encountered by Bellerophon. The identification (adopted for poetical purposes by Mr. Morris) is as old as Choerilus (ap. Jos. c. *Ap.* i. 22), a Samian poet of the fifth century B.C. Instead of being suggested by the name Hierosolyma, it probably suggested the name being so Grecised: as the LXX. uniformly write Ἱερουσαλήμ, while the later books of Tobit and 2 Maccabees have Ἱεροσόλυμα. Josephus (c. *Ap.* i. 22) quotes Clearchus, a scholar of Aristotle as using the name in the native form (in the first book of his treatise on Sleep, written in the form of a dialogue, in which Aristotle is a speaker), while the contemporary Hecataeus of Abdera has the Grecised.

CH. III. *Plurimi auctores*] Lysimachus of Alexander is quoted by Josephus, c. *Ap.* i. 34, as giving this story, substantially as told by Tacitus; it plainly was the fashionable one in the Graeco-Roman world.

*tabe . . . foedaret*] Leprosy or one of the allied diseases, which were regarded with religious horror. It is not certain that the story is utterly without historical value, or that it only teaches that the Israelites in Egypt lived under filthy and unhealthy conditions. Manetho (ap. Jos. c. *Ap.* i. 26: Chaeremon, *ib.* 32, does not differ very greatly) says that the Egyptian king Amenophis (a name usually standing for Amenhotep, but here probably for Mene-phtah) was commanded by an

oracle, if he wished to see the gods, to purify Egypt of the unclean: and that, after a struggle, the lepers and others expelled by him went out, led by the priest Osarsiph, otherwise Moses. This seems to be a version of the story contained in the 'great Harris Papyrus,' where the king Menephtah is bidden to 'punish the unclean' or 'impious,' an attempt to do which ends in their emigration, after having for a time occupied a district of Egypt in opposition to the king. While it is therefore not likely that Manetho's story was, as Josephus thought, a wilful invention, it is doubtful whether he had historical authority for connecting it with the Israelite Exodus. Probably the events as told in the papyrus are at bottom historical; but Manetho, knowing something about the Jews, and finding nothing about them in his authorities, identified them with the 'unclean' exiles, as arbitrarily as Josephus (c. *Ap.* i. 14) did with the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings. By the way, the history of the latter, as well as the biblical story and the Damascene version of it, would be covered by Tacitus' language in 2. 4.

*Bocchorim*] In the latter part of the eighth century B.C.

*2 Moysen*] M. has *Mosen* here, but *Moyses* twice below. The Egyptian name would be written *Moυσῆς* by Egyptian Greeks, who perhaps knew of Josephus' etymology (*mo ushe* = 'saved from water').

deorum hominumve opem exspectarent utrisque deserti, sed sibimet, duce caelesti, crederent, primo cuius auxilio praesentes miserias pepulissent. Adsensere atque omnium ignari 3 fortuitum iter incipiunt. Sed nihil aequa quam inopia aquae fatigabat. Jamque haud procul exitio totis campis procubuerant, cum grex asinorum agrestium e pastu in rupem nemore opacam concessit. Secutus Moyses conjectura herbidi soli 4 largas aquarum venas aperit. Id levamen; et continuum sex dierum iter emensi, septimo, pulsis cultoribus, obtinuere 4 terras in quibus urbs et templum dicata. Moyses quo sibi in

But the familiar *Moses* is the natural Grecised or Latinised form of the Hebrew *Mōshēh*—which, if the name were Hebrew, would mean ‘drawing out,’ not ‘drawn out.’ The name seems to be really Egyptian, but its meaning is uncertain; not impossibly the derivation of Ex. ii. 10 suggests the true one, by a more than accidental paronomasia.

**sibimet, duce caelesti]** So M.; the correction *duci* is easy, and it is found in the MSS. of Orosius, who (i. 10) reproduces the whole sentence. But *duce* is found in the ed. pr. of Orosius, which must be independent of M.; and it is possible to translate the text, ‘to trust in themselves, regarding as a heavenly leader the first person by whose help they should cast off their present distress.’ So interpreted, we are to understand that the *dux caelestis* proved to be the ass, for the context forbids us to think of the angel of the scriptural account. If we read *duci*, *sibimet* must mean ‘himself,’ not ‘themselves,’ whether or no we insert *ut* after or instead of the syllable *-met*. Some read *sibimet et duci*, which will mean ‘themselves and’ the ass. M. inserts *credentes* after *auxilio*, no doubt by a slip, though it will construe.

**pepulissent]** ‘In oratione recta pepuleritis, futurum exactum,’ Or. He promises that they shall escape

from their troubles, and bids them take their deliverer when he appeared for a *dux caelestis*. The phrase, thus understood, appears so much more appropriate to the ass than to Moses as to afford a presumption in favour of a reading that will refer to the former.

**3 inopia aquae]** So obvious a danger in the desert between Egypt and Palestine that we need not imagine a distorted version of Ex. xvii. or Num. xx. The *rupes nemore opaca* also may proceed from a man who knew the desert; the trees or shrubs caught the eye, and suggested, but did not prove, the presence of grass and water, but it was proved by the asses’ visit.

**4 septimo]** The observance of the Sabbath had to be accounted for somehow. But, comparing the story referred to in ii. 3, it is not unlikely that the genuine Egyptian myth of the god or demon called Typhon by the Greeks, flying on an ass for seven days from Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, was developed by some Egyptian or Graeco-Egyptian rationalist into this description of the relations between Egypt and the great enemies of her religion.

**urbs et templum dicata]** The zeugma suggests that the city as well as the temple was sacred.

posterum gentem firmaret, novos ritus contrariosque ceteris mortalibus indidit. Profana illic omnia quae apud nos sacra; rursum concessa apud illos quae nobis incesta. Effigiem 2 animalis, quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrati sacravere, caeso ariete velut in contumeliam Hammonis. Bos quoque immolatur, quia Aegyptii Apin colunt. Sue 3 abstinent merito cladis, qua ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat, cui id animal obnoxium. Longam olim famem crebris adhuc

CH. IV. **contrariosque ceteris mortalibus**] The remark was an old one,—Esth. iii. 8. St. Paul apparently takes it up as proverbial and not unjust, in 1 Thess. ii. 15. *Profana . . . incesta* is only a half malicious and half rhetorical over-statement of it; compare, however, 5. 3.

2 **Effigiem animalis**] According to one version preserved by Plutarch, the figure was of Moses riding on an ass, which can be only an Egyptian invention. It is generally thought that the commoner story, describing the Jew's idol as an ass's head, arose from the figures that really were in the sanctuary; the cherubim had their faces inward (2 Chron. iii. 13), and either a kneeling human figure or a couchant sphinx or griffin with out-stretched wings would look something like an ass's head, when seen from behind. Tertullian (*Apol.* 16) taunts Tacitus with the inconsistency between this passage and 9. 1; it is possible that, though the second temple was without cherubim, pictures were made by lax Jews showing what the interior ought to look like.

The charge of worshipping the ass's head was transferred from the Jews to the Christians; see Tertullian *l. c.* and the well-known caricature of Alexamenus from the Palatine. Tertullian's description of the drawing of 'the Christian's

god, Ononychites' (or some such name), is thought by some to suggest that there was really some monstrous oriental divinity, whom Jews and Christians were supposed to worship, as they worshipped no other. See Merivale, *Romans under Empire*, vol. vii. pp. 216-217 n.

caeso ariete, etc.] The allusion may be to the initiatory sacrifices of Levit. viii. 14, 19, 23, which, however, are for the consecration of the priests, not of the temple. It seems strange that sacrifices so common should be thought to need accounting for.

3 **merito cladis**, etc.] There is of course a real danger in eating measly pork, and it is not unlikely that the Mosaic prohibition was a consecration of a sanitary rule.

crebris . . . jejuniis] One (Levit. xvi. 29, etc.) obligatory by the law, four more (Zech. viii. 19) by custom dating from the captivity and commemorating it, and several others of later origin. The fasts on Monday and Thursday (St. Luke xviii. 12) were supposed to be connected with the time of giving the law; they seem not to have been universally observed; but on the other hand, Judith viii. 6 and St. Luke ii. 37 seem to show that some individuals went further. There was a mistaken impression (Augustus, *ap.* Suet. *Aug.* 76) that they fasted on the Sabbath, when apparently they did not eat

jejuniis fatentur; et, raptarum frugum argumentum, panis Judaicus nullo fermento detinetur. Septimo die otium plausse ferunt, quia is finem laborum tulerit; dein, blandiente inertia, septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum. Alii honorem eum Saturno haberi, seu principia religionis tradentibus Idaeis, quos cum Saturno pulsos et conditores gentis accepimus, seu quod de septem sideribus quis mortales reguntur, altissimo orbe et praecipua potentia stella Saturni feratur: ac pleraque caelestium vim suam et cursum septimos per numeros 5 commeare. Hi ritus, quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defen-

before noon, but that was not fasting to an Oriental (see Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Pol.* v. 72-7, and cf. Acts x. 10, where *θελε γενέσθαι*, 'wanted his luncheon,' suggests that Peter was not fasting, as commonly supposed). On the Sabbath the Jews made it a point of conscience to eat three meals, holding it to be commanded in Ex. xvi. 25. There are twenty-eight fasts in the modern Jewish calendar.

**raptarum . . . detinetur]** The expression suggests that Tacitus supposed the custom to be permanent, not confined to one week in the year. As Jews were unwilling to eat with strangers, there was no opportunity for correcting the mistake.

**4 Septimo . . . tulerit]** Or. supposes a confusion between the weekly Sabbath and the seven days of the Feast of Tabernacles.

**dein, blandiente inertia]** It is not unlikely that the sabbatical day was practically a much older institution than the sabbatical year. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21 suggests that the law on the latter subject was a dead letter during the whole time of the monarchy. It is suggested that the object of the institution was, that, after two rotations of a three years' course of crops, the land should be allowed a year's

fallow; the three years' rotation being inferred from the law of the tithes (Deut. xiv. 28, xxvi. 12, Amos iv. 4) and the customary period for hiring a labourer (Deut. xv. 18, Is. xvi. 14).

**5 Feratur]** 'Revolves.'

**pleraque . . . commeare]** So the inferior MSS. M. has *commearent* for the last word. Of the conjectural corrections proposed, the best seems to be *commeantur*. But the text, though difficult, is defensible; Or. observes that it is a frequent error in M. to alter an infinitive into a finite tense by adding a *t* or *nt*, whichever the context makes more plausible; while it is not an uncommon thing for Tacitus to put an infinitive in a virtual *oratio obliqua*, without any very clearly expressed verb to govern it. Here *pleraque . . . commeare* may be taken either as co-ordinate with *quod . . . feratur* or as formally co-ordinate with *honorem . . . haberi* (though of course even then it is really dependent on that clause), and, like it, dependent on *ferunt*, supplied from § 4. Still, *vim suam et cursum commeare* is a very harsh zeugma, — 'to move in their course and [exercise] their influence.'

**septimos per numeros]** 'According to a system of multiples of

duntur. Cetera instituta sinistra, foeda, pravitate valuere. Nam pessimus quisque, spretis religionibus patriis, tributa et <sup>2</sup> stipes illuc gerebant; unde auctae Judaeorum res, et quia apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium. Separati epulis, discreti <sup>3</sup> cubilibus, projectissima ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu abstinent; inter se nihil inlicitum. Circumcidere geni- <sup>4</sup>

*7, septimos numeros* being equivalent to *septimum quenque numerum*. Halm would prefer *septenos* or *septenarios*; the latter, at least, would be much more natural. For the notion, connected with the doctrine of the music of the spheres, see Cic. *de Rep.* vi. 18. 18, *illi autem octo cursus . . . septem efficiunt distinctos intervallis sonos, qui numerus rerum omnium fere modus est*; and compare Plat. *de Rep.* x. p. 617 B. If the institution of the week has any astronomical significance, it is merely the natural one of an approximate quarter of the lunar month, like the Roman *nundinae*. Like the latter, the weeks among the Orientals got divorced from the natural and civil months, though the latter were never, except in Egypt and Rome, divorced from each other. The week was apparently a wide-spread institution, and its seven days were very early supposed to be connected with the seven planets; while the Sabbath was, so far as we know, exclusively Israelite.

CII. V. *quoquo modo inducti*] For Moyses was, according to the legend, an atheistic charlatan.

*sinistra, foeda*] Both epithets to *instituta*, not to *pravitate*.

*2 pessimus quisque*] Among the Jews themselves, proselytes bore as bad a name as native Christians do or did among Anglo-Indians; perhaps not unjustly, St. Matt. xxiii. 15. At the same time

Tacitus' taunt, if he means by it anything more than that they who abandon their ancestral religion must be degraded, is capable of a more honourable interpretation; Judaism, like Christianity, afterwards offered a home to outcasts. For the frequency of proselytism, even among Romans, see Hor. *Sat.* i. 4 *fin.*, Juv. xiv. 96 *sqq.*; for the wide prevalence of Jewish ideas, Hor. *Sat.* i. ix. 69 *sqq.*, Juv. *l. c.*, Sen. *ap.* S. Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 11, *victi victoribus leges dederunt* (all speaking especially of the observance of the Sabbath).

*tributa et stipes*] The half-shekel or *διδραχμον* of St. Matt. xvii. 24 *sqq.* See Cic. *pro Flacco*, 28. 66-7; Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 23. 31; Jos. *Ant.* i. 7. 2, where he speaks of *οι σεβομενοι τὸν Θεόν*, as well as the Jews, paying it.

*3 projectissima . . . gens*] Jewish tradition confesses the gross licentiousness of the generation before the fall of the city; see *comin. on Hos.* iv. 14, and the *γενεὰ πονηρὰ μαλ μοιχαλῖς* of the Gospels.

*inter se nihil inlicitum*] It is possible that Tacitus had seen instances where the scandalous doctrine was acted on, that the 'new birth' of a proselyte cancelled all natural relationships, and so removed all bars of kindred to intermarriage; it is also possible that he was shocked at the intermarriages of uncle and niece, which were common in the Herodian

talia instituerunt, ut diversitate noscantur. Transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant, nec quidquam prius inbuuntur quam contemnere deos, exuere patriam, parentes, liberos, fratres vilia habere. Augendae tamen multitudini consulit. Nam et necare quemquam ex agnatis nefas, animosque praelio 5 aut suppliciis peremptorum aeternos putant. Hinc generandi

royal family. The last, recently legalised at Rome, were there still condemned by public opinion; they are nowhere expressly forbidden in the law of Moses, though it is doubtful if they were meant to be tolerated by it (the relationship of Othniel and Achsah, Jos. xv. 17, etc., is as ambiguous in Hebrew as in English). But he is more probably thinking of the suspected incest of Agrippa and Berenice, though the latter had a history evacuating rather than illustrating the contrast drawn by Tacitus. She had insisted on the circumcision of Polemo before she would marry him, as her sister Drusilla on that of Aziz; but neither scrupled to desert her proselyte husband for the Gentiles Felix and Titus.

4 **ut diversitate noscantur**] On the contrary, the custom seems to have been general among the nations influenced by Egyptian civilisation, until it was discredited by the higher civilisation of Greece (Hdt. ii. 36 *sqq.*, 104): Joshua (v. 9) felt that uncircumcised people were contemptible to the Egyptians. It is disputed whether Jer. ix. 25, 6, Ezek. xxxii. 19 *sqq.*, are meant to group together circumcised but heathen or ruined nations, to the reproach of Israel or Egypt, or to describe all the nations except Israel as (at that period) uncircumcised. The peculiarity of the Israelites was the early age at which the ceremony was performed; in other Asiatic and African races practising it, it is a sort of sacrament of adolescence.

5 **necare . . . nefas**] We have almost the same words in *Germ.* 19. 5. Tacitus, and the best Roman opinion, approved of the prohibition when proceeding from anyone whom they regarded with less prejudice than the Jews. It is true that Jewish notions as to the duty of marrying and leaving children amounted to a superstition, but the oldest Roman notions on the subject were nearly the same. *Agnati* has two semi-technical legal senses, (1) blood-relations traced exclusively in male lines; (2) as here, children born after there are already enough to keep up the family, or after a will is made; see Cic. *de Or.* i. 57. 241, *constat agnascendo rumpi testamentum*, 'it is clear that a will is set aside by a subsequent birth.'

**animos . . . putant**] In spite of the arguments of various theologians since Warburton, it seems clear that a shadowy life of the soul after death was recognised by the primitive Hebrews, as by almost all other nations, and further that the doctrine of a Resurrection and final Judgment appears in the Prophets some time before the fall of the monarchy. But the former doctrine (though quite compatible on traditional Christian principles with the other), has of itself little moral efficacy; the second was only forced into the consciousness of the nation by the persecution of Antiochus. The *moriendi contemptus* was characteristic of the nation from his age to that of Hadrian, and reappeared in the mediaeval persecutions; but a strong sense of the value of life, on

amor et moriendi contemptus. Corpora condere quam cremare, e more Aegyptio; eademque cura et de infernis persuasio. Caelestium contra. Aegyptii pleraque animalia 6 effigiesque composita venerantur; Judaei mente sola unumque numen intellegunt: profanos qui deum imagines mortali- bus materiis in species hominum effingant; summum illud et aeternum neque imitabile neque interiturum. Igitur nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nendum templis sinunt. Non regibus 7 haec adulatio, non Caesaribus honor. Sed quia sacerdotes eorum tibia tympanisque concinebant, hedera vinciebantur,

any terms consistent with the fundamentals of their religion, has marked them before and since. In this sentence Tacitus probably hardly means to say, that they considered martyrs and soldiers slain in a holy war to be the *only* persons immortal; if he does, it is no doubt an exaggeration of a well-founded feeling, that 'les juifs n'ont été amenés au dogme de l'immortalité que par la nécessité d'un tel dogme pour donner un sens au martyre' (Renan, *l'Antechrist*, c. xvii. p. 467).

**Corpora condere quam cremare]** We never in the Old Testament hear of burning the dead otherwise than as a disgrace (Jos. vii. 25, etc.), except in the hasty funeral of Saul and his sons (1 Sam. xxxi. 11), and the many hasty funerals of a pestilence (Amos vi. 10). It does not seem to have been thought of in the last siege, when the dead were from their numbers left unburied.

**eademque cura]** Embalming; the Jewish, however, was far less elaborate. The Egyptians stuffed the body with spices, the Jews wrapped it up tightly with spices over it.

**de infernis persuasio]** Probably he means only the belief in a judgment after death. The state of the dead is never, in Graeco-Latin mythology, determined on *purely*

judicial principles, hence two religions in which it was, appeared substantially identical.

**6 mente sola]** Cf. *Germ.* 9. 3, *secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident*. Diodorus and Juvenal regard the non-anthropomorphic worship as element-worship, Strabo as rising from this to pantheism.

**temporis]** Possibly he remembers that there was one at Heliopolis, and one at Gerizim, as well as at Jerusalem; possibly he includes the synagogues under the name. More probably he uses the plural vaguely: most people have statues in their temples, but the Jews will have none in theirs.

**7 non Caesaribus]** 9. 8.

**tibia tympanisque]** Familiar from Ps. cl. Of the use of ivy we have no other evidence, but the theory that they worshipped Dionysus, so far as they could be said to worship any real god, seems to have been as old at least as the Antiochian persecution; see 2 Macc. xiv. 33, 3 Macc. ii. 29. It is found also in Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* iv. 6. He remarks, rightly enough, on the feast of Tabernacles being a vintage festival, Deut. xvi. 13, but adds that they kept after it a feast bearing the *name* of Bacchus, which must be a blunder. The next considerable feast, that of the Dedication,

vitisque aurea templo reperta, Liberum patrem coli, domitorem Orientis, quidam arbitrati sunt, nequaquam congruentibus institutis. Quippe Liber festos lactosque ritus posuit, Judaeorum mos absurdus sordidusque.

6 Terra finesque, qua ad Orientem vergunt, Arabia terminantur; a meridie Aegyptus objacet; ab occasu Phoenices et mare; septentrionem e latere Suriae longe prospectant. Corpora honiinum salubria et ferentia laborum. Rari imbræ, 2

has not even an accidental resemblance of name.

**vitis aurea**] *Jos. Ant.* xv. 11. 3, *B. J.* v. 5. 4; see also Mishna, Middoth iii. 8, translated in the Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for June 1872: 'Over the doorway of the sanctuary was a golden vine, supported upon the buttresses. Every one who vowed a leaf, or a berry, or a cluster, he brought it and hung it upon it.'

**absurdus sordidusque**] The religion fostered a gloomy temper, and the worship had no magnificence, except in the one temple, which Tacitus of course had never seen.

**CII. VI. Arabia** includes the desert of Hauran, which no doubt is the Arabia of Gal. i. 17. But Tacitus' points of the compass are not strictly accurate; Arabia (including Idumaea) surrounds Judaea on the south as well as the east, while Egypt scarcely touches it at the south-west corner.

**Phoenices et mare**] It was scarcely possible to define how much of the coast was at this time Judaised, how much in the hands of the Phoenician (Canaanite and perhaps Philistine) aborigines. Caesarea was a Graeco-Roman city, Joppa was apparently the only considerable town on the coast that was Jewish, but from *Acts* ix. 32 *sqq.* it would seem that the whole district of Sharon was so practically.

**septentrionem . . . prospectant**]

'On the side of Syria they have a distant prospect to the north,' *i.e.* it is farther (from Jerusalem) to their northern frontier Syria, than in any other direction to the frontiers above named. Or possibly we are to take *septentrionem* in its primitive sense, of the Great Bear; as we should say, 'On the side of Syria they have a distant prospect of the north star,'—they being so far south that it is low in the heavens, and seems farther off because you look at it almost horizontally.

2 **Corpora . . . laborum**] The consistent observance of the Law furnished a perfect code of sanitary regulations; and Jewish practice in the matter of cleanliness went even beyond the requirements of Scripture or reason. On the contrary, since the fall of the temple the Jews have learnt to regard themselves as chronically unclean, because accidental defilements cannot be expiated, and from this cause, or from social depression, they have become a proverbially filthy race. Probably the two causes reacted on each other; the ghettos bred epidemics, the Jews were persecuted as poisoners, and crowded still more strictly into the ghettos.

**Rari imbræ, uber solum**] Probably therefore the present barrenness of Judaea is not so much due to diminished rainfall as to neglect of the artificial irrigation, and

uber solum. Fruges nostrum ad morem, praeterque eas balsamum et palmae. Palmetis proceritas et decor. Balsamum 3 modica arbor: ut quisque ramus intumuit, si vim ferri adhibeas, pavent venae, fragmine lapidis aut testa aperiuntur; humor in usu medentium est. Praecipuum montium Libanum 4 erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter ardores opacum fidumque

terracing of hillsides so as to make the most of the scanty soil, to which the ancient fertility was due. It should be remembered that, to say nothing of the extortion of government or insecurity of property, the Moslem occupation has discouraged the culture of the vine, for which the country is specially adapted. Vine-growing land down to the Captivity was, if neglected, fertile in weeds, and cornland became pasture (Is. vii. 23 *sqq.*); seventy years' neglect did the soil more good than harm, but with twelve hundred years' neglect the soil has washed away altogether. There was always more or less of a contrast between the character of the districts known to us as Galilee (see Polyb. v. 70. 3), Samaria, and Judaea (not to speak of the trans-Jordanic country), but certainly it was anciently less marked than now, see Jos. *B. J.* iii. 3, also Hecataeus *ap. cund. c. Ap.* i. 29. It is curious, however, that the recent explorers fail to find any traces of the forests so often mentioned in the books of Samuel, though round Jerusalem the roots of extirpated trees are still found in sufficient plenty to supply the city with fire-wood.

**balsamum et palmae]** Both apparently were mostly confined to the quasi-tropical climate of the Jordan valley; see Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 1 *init.*, xv. 4. 2, Strabo xvi. p. 763, for their growth at Jericho. The balm, as is well known, is first heard of across the Jordan; it is now chiefly grown near Tiberias. The

palm is quite recently extinct.

**3 pavent venae]** So Plin. *H. N.* xii. 25. 54, *ferro laedi vitalia odit*; cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1. c. We should naturally understand Tacitus' language, 'the veins shrink,' *i.e.* contract instead of opening to let the gum flow: but the parallel passage in Pliny seems to show that the meaning is rather '*arbusculae partes intimae ac vitales laeduntur*' (Or.) Perhaps the fear of steel cutting too deep was rather an after-thought than the real reason for the custom: gathering the balsam was a mystical and quasi-religious act, and so was performed, just as circumcision was, with a primitive stone knife. It seems unnecessary, as it is certainly post-Tacitean, to think it natural to mark *si...venae* as a parenthesis.

**4 Libanum]** Including the eastern as well as the western range. Hermon is the only snowy summit that can be considered to be included in the Jewish country: it is moreover the source of the Jordan.

**erigit]** It would have been natural Latin to say *mons Libanus erigitur*: it is Tacitean Latin to say (*terra*) *Libanum erigit*. Perhaps the nearest similar case is Cic. *de Leg.* i. 9. 26, (*natura*) *solum hominem erexit*, 'has made him erect.'

**opacum]** With forests: Tacitus' notion of a hot country was a desert.

**fidumque nivibus]** The snow is said to cover the highest peaks of both Libanus and Antilibanus for the greater part of the year, and,

nibus. Idem amnem Jordanen alit funditque. Nec Jordanes pelago accipitur, sed unum atque alterum lacum integer perfluit, tertio retinetur. Lacus inmeno ambitu, specie maris, 5 sape corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer, neque vento inpellitur, neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur. Incertae undae superjacta, ut solido, ferunt; periti inperitique nandi perinde attolluntur. Certo anni bitumen egerit; cujus 6 legendi usum, ut ceteras artes, experientia docuit. Ater suapte natura liquor, et sparsò aceto concretus, innat. Hunc manu captum, quibus ea cura, in summa navis trahunt; inde, nullo juvante, influit oneratque, donec abscindas. Nec 7

even throughout the summer, to lie on Lebanon 'in patches' and on Hermon in radiating streaks.

**Idem . . . funditque]** 'From the village of Hashbeiya on the N.E. to the village of Shíb'a on the N.E. of Bâniâs, the entire slope of Anti-Lebanon is alive with bursting fountains and gushing streams, every one of which, great or small, finds its way sooner or later into the swamp between Bâniâs and lake Hûleh, and eventually becomes part of the Jordan' (Mr. Ffoulkes in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. Art. *Jordan*).

**unum . . . perfluit]** It appears to be ascertained, that the various streams forming the Jordan do unite a little way before they enter the first of these, the so-called 'waters of Merom' (Josephus' lake of Sem-echon, the modern lake of Huleh). *Integer* means, that the river loses nothing in volume in passing the two lakes, not that the water of the river and lake does not unite.

**5 inmeno ambitu]** Upwards of 100 English miles, but varying with the season.

**gravitate . . . pestifer]** Generally believed until lately, but now known to be untrue. The lake lay in a wilderness, and in an intensely hot

climate: consequently the health of persons visiting it often suffered: and as it is usually covered with clouds of mist, these were held to be pestilential. Moreover, in some parts of the shores there are marshes which are really unhealthy, and sulphur springs with an unpleasant smell. Costigan, the first person who navigated the lake in recent times, died from exertion and exposure: he was popularly supposed to have exemplified the belief which he enabled others to refute.

**neque vento inpellitur]** For the 'weight and inertia' of the waters, see Grove, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. *Sea, the Salt*, § 34.

**neque . . . patitur]** There are no fish in the lake; ducks have been seen there.

**Incertae undae]** The element which *naturally* is unstable.

**periti . . . attolluntur]** The experiment was tried by Vespasian, Jos. *B. J.* iv. 8. 4.

**6 Certo anni]** Tacitean for *certo anni tempore*.

**bitumen]** We have almost the same account in Jos. *I. c.*, Plin. vii. 15. Bitumen is still found in small pieces, rarely in large masses like those described by Josephus. It is not likely to have appeared period-

abscindere aere ferrove possis: fugit cruentem vestemque infectam sanguine quo feminae per menses exsolvuntur. Sic veteres auctores. Sed gnari locorum tradunt, undantes bitu- 8 mine moles pelli manuque trahi ad litus; mox, ubi vapore terrae, vi solis inaruerint, securibus cuneisque ut trabes aut 7 saxa discindi. Haud procul inde campi, quos ferunt olim uberes, magnisque urbibus habitatos, fulminum jactu arsisse; et manere vestigia, terramque ipsam, specie torridam, vim frugiferam perdidisse. Nam cuncta sponte edita aut manu 2 sata, sive herba tenus aut flore, seu solitam in speciem adole- vere, atra et inania velut in cinerem vanescunt. Ego sicut 3 inclutas quondam urbes igne caelesti flagrâsse concesserim, ita halitu lacus infici terram, corrumpi superfusum spiritum, eoque fetus segetum et autumni putrescere reor, solo caeloque juxta gravi. Et Belus amnis Judaico mari inlabitur; circa 4 cujus os lectae arenae, admixto nitro, in vitrum excoquuntur. Modicum id litus et egerentibus inexhaustum.

8 Magna pars Judaeae vicis dispergitur; habent et oppida.

cally; still, variations in the level of the lake may have something to do with it.

CH. VII. *Haud procul inde*] It is a comparatively modern notion (perhaps an inference from Gen. xiv. 3) that the Cities of the Plain were submerged: they are always described as burnt and left desolate: see esp. Gen. xix. 28.

*fulminum jactu*] A perhaps legitimate rationalisation of the scriptural story, in the form that it had been told to him: cf. *igne caelesti* in § 3. Orosius, who (i. 5) quotes the passage, has according to some MSS. *ictu* for *jactu*.

2 *Nam cuncta*, etc.] An inaccurate version of the story of the 'apples of Sodom,' which looked like eatable fruit, but turned to ashes in the mouth. This no doubt

was a fanciful description of some real plant or plants of the district; modern botanists have not certainly determined which.

3 *Ego sicut . . . ita*, etc.] He is disposed to allow the two facts, but considers both natural, and sees no connection between them.

4 *Belus*] Plin. *N. H.* v. 19. 17, xxvi. 26. 65; Jos. *B. J.* ii. 10. 2.

CH. VIII. *vicis dispergitur*] 'Is occupied in scattered villages.' Or. compares what Josephus says of the populousness of Galilee, *B. J.* iii. 3. 2. Greatly as Josephus exaggerates the size of these towns, he is undoubtedly right as to their number. Compare also Hecat. Abd. ap. Jos. c. Ap. i. 22, ἐστι γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ δχυρώματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ κώμαι, μία δὲ πόλις δχυρά, κ.τ.λ.

Hierosolyma genti caput. Illic immensa opulentiae templum, et primis munimentis urbs, dein regia, templum intimis clausum. Ad fores tantum Judaeo aditus; limine, praeter sacerdotes, arcebantur. Dum Assyrios penes Medosque et 2 Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima pars servientium: postquam Macedones praepotuere, rex Antiochus, demere superstitionem

**genti caput]** See on ii. 79. 1.

**primis . . . dein . . . intimis]** It is impossible here to discuss all the questions, many of them not yet certainly solved, of the topography of Jerusalem: see Jos. *B. J.* v. 4. 7 for a detailed description. Tacitus himself probably had not so clear a notion of the arrangement as can only be got (without a visit to the site) by looking at or drawing a plan, at least mentally. In this sentence, which is to be illustrated by ii. 5. 7, he does not mean that the city, the palace, and the temple formed three *concentric* lines of walls (it would be little less than absurd to suppose the palace surrounding the temple), but three *successive* lines, to be forced one after another by assailants from the north, where alone assault was practicable. The Temple was, as a citadel usually is, on the least assailable side. Herod's palace, strengthened by the three great towers called Mariamne, Phasael, and Hippicus, lay in the N.W. corner (nearest to the assailants) of the *oldest* and *inmost* city wall; and the outmost wall, begun by the elder Agrippa, and now defensible, though never finished, was north of all. There was a wall, not mentioned by Tacitus, intermediate between the wall surrounding the palace, and this outer one, which included the suburbs of Bezetha and the hill which we call Calvary: and it is possible that Tacitus' form of statement is modified by a (not very clear) knowledge of the fact that there were these three lines of rampart, *besides* the Temple colonnades.

**tantum Judaeo]** To be taken together: if *ad fores tantum* were, the clause would be merely synonymous with the next.

**2 Dum . . . servientium]** Tacitus knows nothing of the Davidic monarchy nor of the Babylonish Captivity: but within the limited range he takes into account, his view of the early history is not far wrong. He brings down the myth of the Exodus to the days of Bocchoris, so that the national history cannot begin before then: now (whatever doubts there may be as to the exact numbers of years required at this period for the correlation of Israelite, Egyptian, and Assyrian chronology) Bocchoris was conquered and killed by Sabaco or So, the ally of Hoshea and contemporary (or nearly so) of Hezekiah. Hezekiah's reign, to be sure, though severely tried by the Assyrian invasion, was on the whole prosperous and glorious: but from the conquest of Manasseh by Esarhaddon, and the final depopulation of Samaria by the same king (Is. vii. 8, Ezr. iv. 2), the political degradation of Israel may be reckoned to begin: and in spite of the rare energy and patriotism of Nehemiah, and the high moral position held by such men as Simon the Just, it cannot be said to have terminated till the high-priesthood of Jonathan the son of Mattathias.

**rex Antiochus]** The fourth of that name, Epiphanes, was the persecutor of the Jews. But Tacitus apparently found him, in the authority he used, spoken of under the

et mores Graecorum dare adnisus, quo minus tetterimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est: nam ea tempestate Arsaces desciverat. Tum Judaei, Mace- 3 donibus invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis, (et Romani procul

title Θεὸς, also borne by him: and thus was led to attribute his acts to Antiochus II., commonly called Θεὸς, from whom (during his war with Ptolemy II., Philadelphus) Arsaces revolted, and established the independence of Parthia. Tacitus cannot be acquitted of a mistake of nearly a century; but it is more probable that he misplaces the Jewish war of independence than the Parthian, as the latter must, in the eyes of a Roman, have been by far the more considerable event.

**mores Graecorum dare]** Epiphanes, the armed apostle of Hellenism (a 'caricatured Joseph II.', Mommsen calls him, *Hist. of Rome*, Book iv. c. 1, vol. iii. p. 61, Eng. tr.), was himself by no means a favourable specimen of Hellenic culture: see Polyb. xxvi. fr. 1, xxxi. 3-5. With many qualities of a great king (*id. xxviii. 18*), he made himself ridiculous by an affectation of what he took for Roman manners and polity, no more successful than Nero's affectation of Greek: and when once he had learned to set at naught the conventional standard of decorum, he soon utterly forfeited his dignity by clownish horse-play, while he tried to establish it by barbaric profusion. While his place in sacred history and prophecy suggests a comparison with Nero, and the two had probably much in common in their character, superficially he rather reminds us of mere madmen like Gaius and Paul of Russia: he was nicknamed 'Ἐπιφανῆς' by Greeks as well as Jews.

**tetterimam gentem]** Tacitus, who complains (*Ann. ii. fin.*) of Roman indifference to the heroic

deeds of Arminius, would probably have done justice to the far nobler character and exploits of the Maccabees, if he had read their history with any attention. We may acquit him of moral blindness, but only at the expense of his historical impartiality, and even diligence, in the treatment of a subject on which he felt so strong prejudice.

**Parthorum . . . desciverat]** At the time of the earlier campaigns of Maccabaeus, Antiochus was gone on an expedition into Elam and Persia, plundering temples, and very likely persecuting the one national religion which, like the Jewish, had enough distinctive character to resist Hellenisation. It is likely enough that the contemporary Parthian king, Arsaces VI., Mithridates, a man of high character, who a little later greatly extended his empire at the expense of the Syrian, was strengthened by the reaction provoked by Epiphanes' outrage on popular feeling: we have, however, no evidence of actual war between them. Antiochus' death was ascribed by devout Jews and pagans to the divine judgment on his sacrilege, by the more rationalistic to his remorse for it, or chagrin at its failure: see *I Macc. vi. 8 sqq.*, Polyb. xxxi. 11. The war against the Jews was not interrupted by his absence or death: but their ultimate success was due to the dynastic quarrels that broke out among the Seleucidae a few years later. They received 'moral support' from Rome (*I Macc. viii. 21 sqq.*, *xv. 15 sq.*: there are difficulties in the way of admitting the genuineness, or at least textual

erant,) sibi ipsi reges inposuere ; qui, mobilitate volgi expulsi, resumpta per arma dominatione, fugas civium, urbium eversiones, fratrum, conjugum, parentum neces aliaque solita regibus ausi superstitionem fovebant, quia honor sacerdotii 9 firmamentum potentiae adsumebatur. Romanorum primus Gn. Pompeius Judaeos domuit, templumque jure victoriae

accuracy, of the latter document), but owed much more to the loyal as well as judicious diplomacy of Simon and Jonathan.

**3 reges inposuere]** Their independence was recognised by Demetrius in B.C. 143, 1 Macc. xiii. 41 : it was infringed ten years later, after the death of Simon, by Antiochus VII., Sidetes, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8. 2 *sqq.*, B. J. i. 2. 5, but without permanent effect. Simon and his son John Hyrcanus, however, took no title but those of ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος; (1 Macc. xiii. 42 : the Hebrew titles represented by the two last words are uncertain, as they seem not to be found on coins). The first titular 'king' of the Hashmonean dynasty was Aristobulus, the son and successor of Hyrcanus, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11. 1, B. J. i. 3. 1.

**mobilitate . . . dominatione]** The people revolted from Alexander Janneas, the brother and successor of Aristobulus, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13. 5 *sqq.*, B. J. i. 4. 4 *sqq.*, and were only put down after a bloody civil war, in which Alexander employed foreign mercenaries, but the rebels invoked the aid of Demetrius of Syria, which seems to have brought the national feeling over to his side.

**fugas civium]** 8000 are said to have fled from horror at the cruelties of Alexander after the insurrection was suppressed, Jos. B. J. i. 4. 6.

**fratrum . . . neces]** Aristobulus was said to have starved his mother

to death, and was certainly entrapped into ordering the assassination of his favourite brother Antigonus : Alexander put to death another brother, apparently less unjustly ; and there was a civil war, though without actual fratricide, between Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II. The murder of a wife does not occur in the Hashmonean dynasty until the last member of it, Mariamne, was slain by Herod.

**solita regibus]** It is not unlikely that the assumption of the royal title really produced a demoralising effect. Aristobulus on his accession imprisoned his three younger brothers, almost as a matter of course, and, as already mentioned, put his and his father's favourite, Antigonus, to death. His grandfather Simon, and John the eldest of the five sons of Mattathias, had served cheerfully and faithfully in subordinate commands under their younger brothers Judas and Jonathan.

**adsumebatur]** Tacitus fundamentally misconceives the history, thinking they were kings first and priests afterwards.

**CII. IX. Gn. Pompeius]** Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3 *sqq.*, B. J. i. 6. 2 *sqq.*, Cic. *Flacc.* 28. 67 *fn.* He intervened in favour of Hyrcanus, the legitimate, against his brother Aristobulus the popular, claimant of the throne and priesthood.

**templum . . . ingressus est]** Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 4. Josephus *l. c.* implies that the sacrilege was unprecedented : but see xi. 7. 1 for proof that there was a story of its

ingressus est. Inde volgatum, nulla intus deūm effigie vacuam sedem et inania arcana. Muri Hierosolymorum diruti, delubrum mansit. Mox civili inter nos bello, postquam in 2 dicionem M. Antonii provinciae cesserant, rex Parthorum Pacorus Judaea potitus, interfectusque a P. Ventidio, et Parthi trans Euphraten redacti: Judaeos G. Sosius subegit. Regnum ab Antonio Herodi datum victor Augustus auxit. 3 Post mortem Herodis, nihil exspectato Caesare, Simo quidam regium nomen invaserat. Is a Quintilio Varo, obtinente Syriam, punitus; et gentem coercitam liberi Herodis tripertito rexere. Sub Tiberio quies. Dein jussi a G. Caesare effigiem 4 ejus in templo locare, arma potius sumpsere; quem motum

being brought on by an earlier fratricide.

**nulla . . . arcana]** ἔκειτο δ' οὐδὲν δλως ἐν αὐτῷ, Jos. B. J. v. 5. 5; and unanimous Jewish tradition represents the Ark, and by consequence the Cherubim, as wanting in the second Temple. Consequently the story of Malelas must be rejected, that the Cherubim were captured by Titus and presented to the city of Antioch. See on 4. 2. For the collocation of *vacuam* and *inania*, cf. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 269: the words differ as 'empty' and 'with nothing in it,' i.e. no object accounting for a temple being built in its honour.

**diruti]** They were however soon restored by Antipater, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9. 1.

**2 rex Parthorum]** See on ii. 2. 1, 25. 3.

**Sosius]** So he is spelt on coins, and so M.: Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 15. 9, etc., B. J. i. 17. 9, etc.) and Plutarch (*Anton.* 34) spell the name with a double *s*.

**3 Regnum . . . auxit]** According to Josephus (B. J. i. 20) Herod claimed credit for his fidelity to Antony: at any rate Augustus

immediately gave him districts at the south-west that had belonged to Cleopatra, and afterwards added the north-east districts of Hauran, Bashan, and Trachonitis.

**Simo quidam]** A slave of Herod's, Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10. 6.

**liberi H. tripertito]** Archelaus taking Idumaea, Judaea, and Samaria, with the title of Ethnarch; Antipas, Galilee and Peraea, and Philip the north-eastern district, as Tetrarchs.

**4 Sub T. quies]** He takes no notice of the rising of Judas the Gaulonite in Augustus' time, A.D. 6, which was really the first symptom of the spirit of the final war, nor of the less important ones provoked and suppressed by Pilate.

**jussi . . . locare]** The philosopher Philo went on the embassy sent to Rome to deprecate the sacrilege, and his account of their adventures is extant. See also *Ann.* xii. 54. 2, but compare Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 8, B. J. ii. 10.

**arma potius sumpsere]** An overstatement according to Josephus II. cc.: they perhaps would have done so, but Petronius, the proconsul of Syria, saw the folly of pressing

Caesaris mors diremit. Clavius, defunctis regibus aut ad modicum redactis, Judacam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit; e quibus Antonius Felix per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit, Drusilla Cleopatrae et Antonii nepte in matrimonium accepta, ut ejusdem Antonii Felix progenie, Clavius nepos esset. Duravit tamen patientia Judaeis usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem: sub eo bellum ortum. Et comprimere coop-

the point, and temporised as far as he safely could, until Gaius' death settled the question. We should remember that Josephus minimises the really national opposition to Rome, as distinct from that of a fanatical party.

**5 defunctis . . . redactis]** The elder Herod Agrippa died A.D. 44, his brother Herod of Chalcis four years later; his son Agrippa was allowed a kingdom in the north-east, but in Judaea proper had only the honorary rank of a *rex sacrorum*.

**equitibus . . . libertis]** As procurators: Tacitus omits to mention that the same had been the case in Tiberius' time, from the deposition of Archelaus to the grant of the kingdom to Agrippa I. Felix seems to have been the only procurator who was a freedman: for the custom of not appointing men of higher than equestrian rank, compare *Agr. 4. 1*, *utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae eques-tris nobilitas est*.

**Antonius Felix]** The brother of the favourite Pallas, *Ann. xii. 54*. Suidas calls him Clavius: Tacitus is probably right. Suidas, or rather the authority he followed, knew that he belonged to the emperor: he did not know that Clavius inherited him from his mother.

**jus regium servili ingenio]** The tyranny of freedmen was a recent scandal at Rome, but one of old

standing in the east: it is unnecessary, but not impossible, to suppose that *Prov. xix. 10, xxx. 22*, were applied to Felix by his subjects.

**Drusilla]** The daughter of Juba II. by Cleopatra Selene; not the Drusilla of *Acts xxiv. 24*, who was a sister of Agrippa and Berenice: see *Jos. Ant. xx. 7. 2*. The name (the maiden name, so to speak, of Livia Augusta) was almost as common for women as Clavius for men: hence Felix's marriage with two Drusillas is not a very extraordinary coincidence. Suetonius (*Claud. 28*) calls him *trium reginorum maritum*, but it is not known who the third was.

**ut . . . esset]** Perhaps the sense is rather to mark Felix's outrageous ambition, 'freedman as he was, he made himself the emperor's own first cousin by marriage,' than to throw contempt upon Clavius, 'he found himself first cousin to a rascally freedman of his own.'

**Ch. X. usque ad G. F. procuratorem]** Tacitus probably means to imply that his rule was even more intolerable than that of Felix. Josephus (*xx. 11. 1, B. J. ii. 14. 2*) charges him with having deliberately goaded the Jews into revolt: he certainly was guilty of criminal negligence or cowardice, in withdrawing from the city at the first outbreak, and allowing what might have been only a riot to become a revolution.

tantem Cestium Gallum, Suriae legatum, varia praelia ac saepius adversa excepere. Qui ubi fato aut taedio occidit, <sup>2</sup> missu Neronis Vespasianus fortuna famaque et egregiis ministris, intra duas aestates, cuncta camporum omnesque praeter Hierosolyma urbes victore exercitu tenebat. Proximus annus, <sup>3</sup> civili bello intentus, quantum ad Judaeos, per otium transiit. Pace per Italiam parta et externae curae rediere. Augebat iras quod soli Judaei non cessissent. Simul manere apud exercitus Titum ad omnes principatus novi eventus casusve utilius videbatur.

Igitur, castris, uti diximus, ante moenia Hierosolymorum <sup>4</sup> I I positis, instructas legiones ostentavit. Judaei sub ipsis muros

**varia . . . adversa]** He was attacked, and lost 515 men, at Gibeon; but being superior in cavalry was enabled to pursue his advance up to Jerusalem, entered and burnt the suburb of Bezetha, and might, Josephus thinks, have forced the city wall, while the bulk of the population was ready to welcome him. But he wasted time in negotiation, and at length, after a few days' unsuccessful assault, he, rightly or wrongly, thought it necessary to retreat. The Jews harassed his rear: he was forced to abandon his baggage, and driven down the famous pass of Beth-horon, with the loss of an eagle and nearly 6000 men. This legion, the Twelfth, is apparently omitted by Mucianus in the enumeration of the *novem legiones integrae, nulla acie exhaustae*, in ii. 76.

**2 egregiis ministris]** See on I. I.

**intra duas aestates]** The war began A.D. 66: Vespasian's two campaigns were in 67 and 68.

**cuncta . . . tenebat]** The only serious resistance he encountered was at the two towns of Jotapata and Gamala in Galilee.

**3 Pace . . . parta]** The common expression in this sense: M. has *parata*.

**et externae curae]** The care for foreign affairs, as well as the peace of Italy. As it proved, the public interest had not at all suffered by leaving Jerusalem 'to cook in her own juice.'

**soli]** He had not heard of the open revolt on the Rhine, but regarded Civilis as an irregular partisan of his own.

**ad omnes . . . casusve]** There was no saying what might happen to a new emperor—the very troops that had proclaimed him might turn against him, as Galba's had, and proclaim their new commander, as Viginius' troops had done for Vitellius. It was therefore necessary to keep them employed, and that under a loyal general.

**4 uti diximus]** I. 5.

**legiones ostentavit]** As we say, 'made a demonstration.'

**CH. XI. sub ipsis muros]** They surprised Titus at his first cavalry reconnaissance, and placed him for some time in great danger, Jos. B. J. v. 2. 2. Then, when the Tenth Legion arrived, and pro-

struxere aciem, rebus secundis longius ausuri, et, si pellerentur, parato perfugio. Missus in eos eques cum expeditis cohortibus ambigue certavit. Mox cessere hostes, et sequenti- 2 bus diebus crebra pro portis praelia serebant, donec assiduis damnis intra moenia pellerentur. Romani ad obpugnandum versi. Neque enim dignum videbatur famem hostium opperiri ; 3 poscebantque pericula, pars virtute, multi ferocia et cupidine praemiorum. Ipsi Tito Roma et opes voluptatesque ante 4 oculos ; ac ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur. Sed urbem arduam situ opera molesque firmaverant, 5 quis vel plana satis munirentur. Nam duos colles inmensum

ceeded to intrench itself on the Mount of Olives, the Jews made a fierce attack upon them, which nothing but Titus' vigour and personal courage prevented from succeeding: *ib.* 4. 5. Tacitus apparently blends the two combats in his account. Josephus does not mention cavalry as engaged in the second and more serious one, and from the nature of the ground they scarcely could be. But the *expeditae cohortes* may represent the troops kept under arms while their comrades were intrenching.

2 *crebra . . . pellerentur*] *Jos. B. J.* v. 3. 3-5. The sorties described, *ib.* 6. 5, 7. 3, etc., belong to a later period of the siege than Titus here speaks of.

3 *Neque enim . . . opperiri*] They came however to think seriously of it afterwards, while Titus kept to their original point of view, *Jos. B. J.* v. 12. 1. Tacitus perhaps is thinking of that passage, where Josephus says, *αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργεῖν καθόλου μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως οὐκ ἔδοκε πρέπειν.*

*ferocia*] Though opposed to *virtus* here, we had this word coupled with *ardor* and used in a good sense in *ii. 76. 8.* The general usage of

the adj. *ferox* and its derivatives shows, that even where the sense is as much depreciatory as here, the sense is rather 'pride' than 'fierceness.'

4 *Ipsi Tito, etc.*] Compare *ii. 2.*

*morari*] 'To keep him waiting,' a rather curious personification, as Or. thinks, of the *voluptates*: it would be easier to take *Hierosolyma* as the subject.

5 *vel plana . . . Nam*] The city was virtually unassailable on three sides, and strongly fortified on the fourth (the northern).

*duos colles*] Those called by modern topographers (though most recent ones dispute the nomenclature) Zion and Moriah: the former containing the 'Upper City' of Josephus, the latter culminating in the Temple. Josephus describes the city as including, at the date of the siege, two other hills ('Calvary' —he of course does not use the name, which only modern tradition assumes to be that of a hill—and Bezetha) lying to the north of these two respectively: but these were (or at least are) comparatively slight elevations, not adding much to the strength of the defences.

editos claudebant muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera obpugnantium ad ictus patescerent. Extrema rupis 6 abrupta; et turres, ubi mons juisset, in sexaginta pedes, inter devexa in centenos vicenosque attollebantur, mira specie, ac

**per artem obliqui**] Not carried in a straight line over level ground that allowed of it, but so that the natural line of attack, even where attack was possible, might fall at an oblique angle to the wall. Or. quotes Veget. iv. 2, *ambitum muri directum veteres duci noluerunt, ne ad ictus arietum esset dispositus*: Vegetius then proceeds to explain the advantage of the walls being *introrsus sinuati* ('with re-entering angles') *ut latera . . . patescerent*.

**introrsus sinuati**] The outer wall of Agrippa had ninety towers, which projected twenty feet from it, nodoubt enough forthem to serve the purpose of bastions,—i.e. securing within the range of arrows, or even of ballistae, the power of cross-fire that modern bastions secure within cannon-shot. But perhaps Tacitus rather refers (as above suggested) to the impregnable fortifications on the south than to the strong ones on the north: and then the reference will be chiefly to the great re-entering angle of 'the gate between the two walls' (Jer. xxxix. 4), i.e. between Ophel, the steep three-cornered buttress of 'Moriah' south of the Temple, and the adjacent half-side of the square hill of 'Zion.' This rendered absolutely unassailable the one opening in the line of precipices which fronted the ravines of Ben-Hinnom and the Kidron—viz. the mouth of the valley separating the two city mountains; probably the Gihon of the O. T., but called by Josephus 'the Cheesemakers' ravine' (*ἡ τῶν τυροποιῶν προσαγορευομένη φάραγξ*), from which words modern topographers have

excogitated the conventional proper name of 'the Tyropoeon Valley.'

**6 Extrema rupis**] Comparing *intus* in the next §, this must mean, 'the side first exposed to the (Roman) assailants,' i.e. the north. There was there no natural precipice, but there may have been a scarped trench, such as had before been made to separate the fortress Antonia from the hill of Bezetha.

**turres**] There were ninety at regular intervals in the outermost wall, fourteen in the second, and sixty in the oldest and innermost. Besides, there was the great 'pebble tower' (*ὁ ψῆφιος πύργος*) at the north-west corner of the outer wall, and the three already described surrounding Herod's palace, holding a similar situation in the inner. The towers seem to have been a characteristic feature of the fortifications of Jerusalem, and to have struck the Romans (Jos. B. J. vii. 1. 1, Val. Fl. i. 14) as the chief of the difficulties overcome by Titus. Of the three great towers near the palace, one (supposed to be Phasael) is still standing, the lower part being no doubt Herod's original work.

**centenos vicenosque**] '120 in every such case.' The assonance between *sexaginta* and *viginti* is not so marked as to make it likely that Tacitus varies the form of the numeral only to avoid it. Josephus says no more than that the towers rose 20 feet above the walls, but the height of such parts of the *enceinte* as have been excavated makes it probable that Tacitus does not exaggerate.

procul intuentibus pares. Alia intus moenia, regiae circum- 7  
 jecta, conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia, in honorem M.  
 12 Antonii ab Herode appellata. Templum in modum arcis  
 propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios. Ipsae porticus,  
 quis templum ambibatur, egregium propugnaculum. Fons

7 *Alia . . . circumjecta*] See on 8. 1.

*Antonia*] Distant a little to the north of the Temple, opposite the north-west angle.

*M. Antonii*] Cf. 9. 3.

*Cit. XII. Templum . . . alios*] The platform now called 'the Noble Sanctuary' (Haram esh-Sherif) is surrounded by walls now proved to have been from 150 to 180 feet high, being built out to east and west of the narrow ridge of Mount Moriah. The Temple stood in some part of this area: opinions differ whether in the centre or the south-east or south-west angle. Of the enormous substructions, part almost certainly dates from Solomon: and it is on the whole likeliest, that the whole was included in Herod's outer court—the south-east corner, which is slighter work than the rest, and supported on arches, being perhaps added by him to the older precinct. According to one of the many theories advanced, the Solomonic portion of this platform was the Millo (LXX. *Ἀκρα*, Josephus' name for the Lower City on and around the Temple hill), on the works of which Jeroboam was employed: we are on safer ground if we compare 1 Kings xii. 4 with Liv. i. 56. 1, 2. As the second Temple of the Jews so nearly coincided in its fall with that of the Romans, so their first Temples present a more than superficial parallel in their origin and their influence on the national history.

*porticus*] See Jos. *B. J.* vi. 2. 9, 3. 1, etc., for the desperate conflict at these, decided at last by fire

rather than sword: and compare above, iii. 71. 2. In time of (comparative) peace, the colonnades served an exactly opposite purpose: the garrison of Antonia, advancing along their roofs, could *command* the Temple courts without profaning them by entering, on occasions like that of Acts xxi. 31 sq.

*Fons perennis aquae*] Called 'the Conduit' (Is. viii. 6; cf. St. John ix. 7), which became practically the pr. n., Shiloah or Siloam. Josephus describes it (v. 4. 1) as *γλυκείαν τε καὶ πολλήν οὖσαν*, but in v. 9. 4 he says that it ran short just before the siege. In St. Jerome's time (Comm. in Jes. 1. c.) it was intermittent, though still abundant: it is now ordinarily rather scanty, but subject to such sudden rises as he describes. The modern city is pretty well supplied with water, but it is thought that the ancient sources are more abundant. Hezekiah had, expressly in view of a siege, led another water-course to the same point of issue as this (Is. xxii. 9. 11, 2 Kings xx. 20, 2 Chron. xxxii. 30); an aqueduct, supposed to be his, has been lately traced. From Eccl. xlvi. 17 we perhaps should understand that it remained in working order as late as B.C. cir. 260, and if so, it doubtless did down to the time we are concerned with. Certainly Hezekiah's object (2 Chron. xxxii. 4) of embarrassing the besiegers was attained. Dio lxvi. 4. 5, *τὸ δὲ δῆτι πλεῖστον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ ἀνυδρίᾳ ἐκακοπάθουν, καὶ φαῦλον καὶ πόρρωθεν οὖσωρ ὑπαγόμενοι.*

perennis aquae, cavati sub terra montes, et piscinae cisternaeque servandis imbribus. Praeviderant conditores ex diversitate morum crebra bella: inde cuncta quamvis adversus longum obsidium. Et a Pompeio expugnatis metus atque usus pleraque monstravere. Atque per avaritiam Claudinorum temporum empto jure muniendi, struxere muros in pace tamquam ad bellum, magna conluvie et ceterarum urbium clade aucti: nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat, eoque seditiosius agebant. Tres duces, totidem exercitus. Extrema et latissima moenium Simo, medium urbem

**cavati . . . montes]** The subterranean aqueducts and other excavations (perhaps granaries) are now familiarly though doubtless not exhaustively known from modern explorations. They play an important part in the later history of the siege, as having furnished a temporary refuge to the survivors of the capture, among them to the leaders John and Simon.

**Praeviderant, etc.]** Tacitus (or his authority Julianus: see on *Fr.* 2) may have heard these defensive works ascribed to Hezekiah, whose war with Assyria seems to have had a religious character on both sides. *M.* has *providerant*, but the prep. being abbreviated we cannot be certain that it is right.

**3 empto jure muniendi]** The two old walls, dating from the days of the monarchy (the second may be that of Manasseh described in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14), though several times dismantled during the wars of the Greek empires, had probably never been again reduced to the ruinous condition so graphically described by Nehemiah; and even in his day their line was still quite traceable, and they could by a vigorous effort be rendered defensible in a very short time. Tacitus probably refers not to repairs of

these, but to the great wall of Agrippa: nor is his statement quite inconsistent with Josephus' (*B. J.* v. 4. 2), ἀρχεται μὲν οὐ προεπομεν τείχους, δείσας δὲ Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα, μὴ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ πραγμάτων ὑπονοήσῃ καὶ στάσεως πάνεται θεμελίους μόνον βαλόμενος. Agrippa may have paid the officials of Syria to take no notice, but have thought it wise to stop before attracting that of the emperor.

**magna . . . aucti** must refer, not to the time of the fortification, but to that of the siege. *Ceterae urbes* are those of Galilee and elsewhere, already taken by Vespasian.

**pervicacissimus quisque]** For instance, John of Gischala had abandoned his native city, after the fall of Jotapata, Gadara, and Gamala, and marched to Jerusalem with all the fighting men,—abandoning the non-combatants in a way that shocked the humanity of his rival Josephus.

**4 Simo . . . vocabant]** There is a mistake here, whether due to Tacitus or to a copyist. It was Simon who was the son of Gioras: John of Gischala was the son of Levi. The copyist has thrown suspicion on himself by the clumsy διττογραφία *Barbagioram*. John is

Joannes, † quem et Bargioram vocabant, templum Eleazarus firmaverat. Multitudine et armis Joannes ac Simo, Eleazarus loco pollebat. Sed praelia, dolus, incendia inter ipsos, et 5 magna vis frumenti ambusta. Mox Joannes, missis per speciem sacrificandi qui Eleazarum manumque ejus obtruncarent, templo potitur. Ita in duas factiones civitas discessit, donec, propinquibus Romanis bellum externum concordiam

habitually called by Josephus a *τύπανος*; we might almost as accurately define his position by calling him a Jacobin dictator: he had at least as much excuse as the French terrorists for treating the moderate party and the sacerdotal aristocracy as traitors to the nation. The high priest Ibanan (Ananus in Josephus, son and namesake to the Annas of the Gospels, himself the man who ordered the execution of St. James the Just), and even the able Josephus, wanted to conduct the war on the assumption that peace was possible; John knew better. At the same time, we can find absolutely no good point in his character: allowing as much as we will for the personal enmity of Josephus, we cannot doubt that he was unprincipled as well as unscrupulous. Eleazar (the son of Simon, apparently a priest, but not to be confounded with Eleazar, son of Ananias the 'whited wall,' who held a somewhat similar position at an earlier period of the war) had withdrawn into the temple with a portion of the Zealots, professing disgust at John's cruelties. Simon, who had distinguished himself in the defeat of Cestius, and was now at the head of a large partisan force in the south, was invited in by the relics of the moderate party as a deliverer from John, but after his arrival was scarcely less tyrannical. He was beheaded, after ancient precedent,

at the triumph of Vespasian and Titus: John's life was spared, which seems discreditable both to him and the emperor.

**Multitudine et armis]** 'The number of armed men.' Eleazar's force was probably as well armed as John's, and better provisioned. Simon had 15,000, including 5000 Idumaeans who revolted from John; John had 6000, and Eleazar 2400, *Jos. B. J. v. 6 init.* In *I. c.* we have an exact statement of the part of the city occupied by each.

**4, 5 Eleazarus . . . rum]** Perhaps we ought to follow M. in reading *Alazarus* or *Lazarus*.

**5 magna . . . ambusta]** Josephus asserts (*B. J. v. 1. 4 fin.*) that it would have lasted them for years, and that the city was only taken for want of it—the first statement incredible, and the other false.

**per speciem sacrificandi]** At the Passover, *B. J. v. 3. 1.* Josephus characteristically but not improbably (*Num. xxxi. 19*) asserts that the emissaries were most of them unclean.

**qui . . . obtruncarent]** Tacitus implies, though his words do not expressly state, that the intention was executed: in fact, Josephus says (*I. c.*) that fewer of the Zealots were massacred than of the peaceable worshippers: certainly Eleazar and his surviving men passed into the service of John.

**Ita . . . pareret** seems almost a verbal reminiscence of *Jos. v. 3. 1*

I 3 pareret. Evenerant prodigia, quae neque hostiis neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa. Visae per caelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne conlucere templum. Exapertae repente delubri 2 fores, et audita major humana vox, excedere deos; simul ingens motus excedentium. Quae pauci in metum trahebant: pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum litteris contineri,

*fin.*, 2. 4 *init.*: but if he had no other authority, Tacitus' language is inaccurate. The three factions united for the almost successful assault on the Tenth Legion on Olivet: but the surprise of the Temple by John fell later. The party warfare only ceased when the siege was actually formed: and even then the two parties were hampered by mutual distrust.

CH. XIII. *prodigia*] *Jos. B. J.* vi. 5. 3.

*quae . . . adversa*] *I.e.* the Jews were more attached to their religious observances than the Romans, but the observances they were most attached to were not of the same order. It is scarcely relevant to refer to the Mosaic prohibitions of witchcraft and astrology: the event of 2 Sam. xxiv. 16-18, which apparently determined the Temple site, is just what is meant by *hostiis atque votis piare prodigium*.

Visae . . . templum] Nearly all the prodigies described in Liv. xxii. 1 as occurring at the beginning of the second Punic War admit of natural explanations: as to these, it is worth remembering that the aurora borealis of the summer of 1870 was seen as far south as Palestine. We may also remember that more people noticed the coincidence of that phenomenon with the siege of Paris, than would have liked to own that they believed in a connection.

2 *Exapertae*] So Or. for the

*expertae* of M.: Haase and Hahn read *et apertae*, as the compound form is not elsewhere found before St. Augustine.

*excedere deos*] The pl. is not used from carelessness: Jos. 4. c. gives the words heard (at the Feast of Pentecost) as *μεταβαλνωμεν* *ἐντεῦθεν*. Christian historians are generally disposed to accept the story: but we should remember that it is coupled, not only with the 'prophecy' (which, whether really supernatural or not, was at least after Hebrew precedent) of Jesus the son of Ananus, but with other prodigies of a very childish and rather heathenish character (*e.g.* *βούς . . . ἔτεκεν ἄρνα ἐν τῷ λεπῷ*), and that, though in itself not below the religious dignity of the occasion, it is capable of a pagan sense. *Excedere* was almost a technical word, correlative to *evocare*, to describe the gods of a city about to fall, leaving it to its fate, when invited by pious or favoured besiegers: see Virg. *Aen.* ii. 351, Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 2. 4.

*in metum trahebant*] So *Ann.* i. 76. 6, *varie trahebant*, iii. 22. 6, *ad saevitiam trahebant*, etc.

*pluribus persuasio*, etc., refers no doubt to the well-known 'Prophecy of the Weeks' in Dan. ix. 24 *sqq.*, coupled by Jews as by Christians with the Messianic empire, foretold *ib.* ii. 44, vii. 14. Reading that passage straightforwardly, it seems to fix the period

eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judaea rerum potirentur. Quae ambages Vespasianum ac Titum 3 praedixerat: sed volgus, more humanae cupidinis, sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. Multitudinem obsessorum, omnis aetatis, virile ac muliebre secus, sexcenta milia fuisse accepimus.

from the restoration of Jerusalem to its destruction, at least as clearly as to indicate the date of the Crucifixion: and although the received Christian computation of 490 years from B.C. 457 to A.D. 33 is more chronologically accurate than any that has been proposed ending A.D. 70, the latter view seems to have been the older. When the original LXX. version of Daniel was made, the prophecy seems to have been regarded as already fulfilled, in the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus; but this is hard to reconcile either with chronology or with the language of the prophet.

3 *Quae ambages*] The sing. is not used elsewhere, except in the abl. *ambage* (found, e.g. in Tacitus himself, *Ann.* vi. 46. 6).

V. ac T. *praedixerat*] There is no reason to dispute Josephus' claim to the questionable credit of having invented this interpretation: Tacitus (and Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4) got it from him, *B. J.* v. 5. 4. It is quite possible that he may, as he asserts (*ib.* iii. 8. 9), have prophesied Vespasian's succession to the empire on the strength of it, even before the death of Nero. In *Ant.* x. 10. 4 *fin.*, he blinks, with more policy than honesty, the fact that the Messianic hopes of his nation, which he dared not disavow, though unwilling to express them, were incompatible with the eternity of Roman power.

Multitudinem . . . accepimus] Tacitus avoids making himself responsible for the incredible estimate.

Josephus on the contrary (*B. J.* vi. 9. 3) estimates the prisoners taken during the whole *war* at 97,000 (which is possible), and the dead during the whole *siege* at 1,100,000. The ordinary population of Jerusalem at this period was probably about 50,000: Renan suggests that Rev. xi. 13 implies an estimate of 70,000, which is the highest consistent with the area of the city. On the other hand, in the revulsion from the wild exaggerations of our authorities, modern critics have been disposed to understate the numbers who are likely to have visited the city for festivals (and Josephus *I. c.* observes, that those who came up to the Passover were caught by the siege) or have been driven into it by an invading army. In the former case, the Gospels suggest that many pilgrims ordinarily had to lodge in the surrounding villages, or even in the open air; in the second, *Jer.* xxxv. 11 shows how the most nomadic of Israelites fled within the walls, and in *Isa.* xxxvi. 11 we are no doubt to understand 'the men that sit on the wall' as country folks camping in the miserable and unhealthy manner described in *Thuc.* ii. 17. Nor is it likely that Josephus, a competent soldier and administrator, and (despite a tendency to the sensational) an excellent military historian, exaggerates the number of the regular troops; that of gross population he does exaggerate constantly. We may guess that Tacitus' figure is about four or five times the truth;

Arma cunctis qui ferre possent; et plures quam pro numero 4 audebant. Obstinatio viris feminisque par; ac si transferre sedes cogerentur, major vitae metus quam mortis. Hanc adversus urbem gentemque Caesar Titus, quando inpetus et subita belli locus abnueret, aggeribus vineisque certare statuit. Dividuntur legionibus munia, et quies praeliorum fuit, donec 5 cuncta expugnandis urbibus reperta apud veteres aut novis ingenii struerentur.

14 At Civilis, post malam in Treveris pugnam, reparato per Germaniam exercitu apud Vetera castra consedit, tutus loco, et ut memoria prosperarum illic rerum augescerent barbarorum animi. Secutus est eodem Cerialis, duplicatis copiis adventu 2 secundae et sextae et quartae decumae legionum. Cohortesque et alae, jam pridem accitae, post victoriam properaverant. Neuter ducum cunctator. Sed arcebatur latitudo camporum 3 suopte ingenio humentium. Addiderat Civilis obliquam in Rhenum molem, cuius objectu revolutus amnis adjacentibus superfunderetur. Ea loci forma, incertis vadis subdola et 4 nobis adversa: quippe miles Romanus armis gravis et nandi

remembering that the number who died, first or last, in Jerusalem, would be greater than were, perhaps greater than could be, included in the city at any one time.

4 **plures . . . audebant**] Tacitus means no doubt that youths and old men bore arms who would not ordinarily be reckoned in the fighting population, but a still greater disproportion would be occasioned by the twenty-three thousand soldiers, and by the successful fugitives (see St. Matt. xxiv. 19), as well as the pilgrims, being mostly males.

**major . . . mortis**] Compare the speech of Eleazar, the defender of Masada, in Jos. B. J. vii. 8. 6.

**aggeribus vineisque**] For a clear description and *picture* of these, see 'the second siege' in Viollet-le-

*Duc's Annals of a Fortress.*

5 **novis ingenis**] 'By recent *inventions*,'—the word is still abstract, but its use illustrates the derivation of 'engines' in modern languages.

CH. XIV. **malam in T. pugnam**] iv. 77 *sq.*

**prosperarum illic rerum**] iv. 60 *sq.*

2 **duplicatis copiis**] He had nominally more than three legions before, but of these some were mere skeletons, and others had suffered heavy losses. For the despatch of these three see iv. 68. 5.

3 **ingenio**] As in ii. 4. 5.

**obliquam**] So as to determine on which side the overflow should be, besides that one straight across would have been much harder to construct.

pavidus; Germanos, fluminibus suetos, levitas armorum et  
 15 proceritas corporum attollit. Igitur, lacescentibus Batavis,  
 ferocissimo cuique nostrorum coeptum certamen; deinde orta  
 trepidatio, cum praecaltis paludibus arma equi haurirentur.  
 Germani notis vadis persultabant, omissa plerumque fronte,  
 latera ac terga circumvenientes. Neque ut in pedestri acie,  
 2 comminus eminus certabatur; sed tanquam navalii pugna,  
 vagi inter undas aut, si quid stabile occurrebat, totis illic  
 corporibus nitentes, volnerati cum integris, periti nandi cum  
 ignaris in mutuam perniciem implicabantur. Minor tamen  
 3 quam pro tumultu caedes, quia non ausi egredi paludem  
 Germani in castra rediere. Ejus praelii eventus utrumque  
 ducem, diversis animi motibus, ad maturandum summae rei  
 discrimen erexit. Civilis instare fortunae, Cerialis abolere  
 4 ignominiam. Germani prosperis feroce; Romanos pudor  
 excitaverat. Nox apud barbaros cantu aut clamore, nostris  
 16 per iram et minas acta. Postera luce Cerialis equite et auxiliariis  
 cohortibus frontem explet; in secunda acie legiones  
 locatae; dux sibi delectos retinuerat ad improvisa. Civilis  
 haud porrecto agmine sed cuneis adstitit. Batavi Gugernique  
 2 in dextro; laeva ac propiora fluminis Transrhenani tenuere.

4 levitas armorum] Compare *Germ.* 6. 1-3, *Ann.* ii. 14. 4.

Ch. XV. arma] The men were sunk by their armour—if a man dropped his shield in a clumsy attempt to swim (which is what Or. supposes to be meant), it would probably float, and he would hardly feel it as a new embarrassment if it did not.

2 comminus eminus] So Or. after Gronovius. M. has *comminus minus*, whence most editors read simply *comminus*, regarding it as a mere διττογραφία.

vagi . . . implicabantur] Compare De Quincey's celebrated description of the last scene in the

Kalmuck Exodus, which well illustrates the last words of this sentence.

4 instare . . . abolere] It is impossible to call these historical infinitives, and not very satisfactory to supply *animo erectus est* or anything similar from the preceding sentence. Perhaps it is best to confess the inadequacy of the name 'historical infinitive,' but to say that here, as in cases where that name is appropriate, the abstract idea of the action is set side by side with the name of the agent, and the relation between them left to the imagination.

Ch. XVI. 2 Gugerni] iv. 26. 4.  
 Transrhenani] The Bructeri and

Exhortatio ducum non more contionis apud universos, sed ut quosque suorum advehebantur. Cerialis veterem Romani nominis gloriam, antiquas recentesque victorias: ut perfidum, ignavum, victum hostem in aeternum exciderent, ultiōne magis quam praelio opus esse. Pauciores nuper cum pluribus 3 certāsse, ac tamen fusos Germanos, quod roboris fuerit. Superesse qui fugam animis, qui volnera tergo ferant. Pro- 4 prios inde stimulus legionibus admovebat, domitores Britan- niae quartadecumanos appellans; principem Galbam sextae legionis auctoritate factum; illa primum acie secundanos nova signa novamque aquilam dicaturos. Hinc praevectus 5 ad Germanicum exercitum manus tendebat, ut suam ripam, sua castra sanguine hostium recuperarent. Alacrior omnium clamor, quīs vel ex longa pace praelii cupido vel fassis bello pacis amor, praemiaque et quies in posterum sperabantur.

17 Nec Civilis silentem struxit aciem, locum pugnae testem virtutis ciens: Stare Germanos Batavosque super vestigia gloriae, cineres ossaque legionum calcantes. Quocunque 2 oculos Romanus intenderet, captivitatem clademque et dira omnia obversari. Ne terrorentur vario Treverici praelii eventu.

Tencteri, iv. 77. 1, cf. *ib.* 23. 2; others may have joined, *ib.* 76. 1.

non more . . . advehebantur] Both generals and armies being eager to fight, they drew up in battle array at the first moment, then, seeing the enemy in battle array also, they could not break rank to assemble round the general, but he rode along the line addressing each corps as he passed it. Compare Thuc. iv. 94. 2, 96. 1, of Hippocrates at Delium.

gloriam . . . victorias . . . esse, etc.] Notice the omission of any verb meaning 'recounted'; it is left to be supplied from *stimulus . . . admovebat* in the next §.

4 illa . . . dicaturos] See iv.

68. 5, *e recens conscriptis secunda.*

5 sua castra] Vetera, 14. 1.

Ch. XVII. silentem] Virtually an adverb, 'in silence:' Tacitus means that he spoke and his men cheered. But while this word grammatically implies only the latter, the context shows that it is the former that is most insisted on. Possibly, as *tacitus* is used in poetry for 'untold,' 'unspoken,' so he thinks he can use *silens* for 'not spoken to.'

Stare, etc.] See on 16. 2.

cineres] iv. 60. 5 *fin.*

2 captivitatem] iv. 60. 3.

omnia] As so often happens, some would read *omina*.

vario] Wherein there had been

Suam illic victoriam Germanis obstitisse, dum, omissis telis, 3  
 praeda manus impediunt: sed cuncta mox prospera et hosti  
 contraria evenisse. Quae provideri astu ducis oportuerit, 4  
 provisa, campos madentes et ipsis gnaros, paludes hostibus  
 noxias. Rhenum et Germaniae deos in aspectu; quorum 5  
 numine capesserent pugnam, conjugum parentum patriae  
 memores. Illum diem aut gloriosissimum inter majores aut  
 ignominiosum apud posteros fore. Ubi sono armorum tripu- 6  
 diisque (ita illis mos,) approbata sunt dicta, saxis glandibusque  
 et ceteris missilibus praelium incipitur, neque nostro milite  
 paludem ingrediente, et Germanis, ut elicerent, lacescentibus.

18 Absumptis quae jaciuntur, et ardescente pugna, procursum  
 ab hoste infestius. Inmensis corporibus et praelongis hastis  
 fluitantem labantemque militem eminus fodiebant; simul e  
 mole, quam eductam in Rhenum rettulimus, Bructerorum  
 cuneus tranatavit. Turbata ibi res, et pellebatur sociarum 2  
 cohortium acies, cum legiones pugnam excipiunt, suppressaque  
 hostium ferocia praelium aequatur. Inter quae persuga 3  
 Batavus adiit Cerialem, terga hostium promittens, si extremo  
 paludis eques mitteretur: solidum illâ, et Gugernos, quibus  
 custodia obvenisset, parum intentos. Duae alae cum persuga 4

an exception to their general course  
 of success.

3 *Suam . . . impediunt*] *iv. 78. 4.*

5 *Rhenum et G. deos*] Possibly Tacitus imagines, in the light of Mediterranean religion, that the Rhine must have been one of the chief gods of Germany, but there is no evidence that it was so.

**gloriosissimum inter majores**]

An imitation and even exaggeration (as *inter* has a more distinctive force than a genitive) of the well-known Graecism of using a superlative with a seemingly partitive genitive, not of a class including the noun, but of a class with which it is to be compared. Tacitus uses the con-

struction in order to suggest the meaning, 'the exploit of that day would shine as the most glorious among the many glorious ones of their ancestors,' *i.e.* in the time when that generation should themselves be looked on as *majores*. *Apud posteros* is therefore only a formal antithesis.

6 *ita illis mos*] *Germ. ii. 6;*  
 compare note on *i. 27. 5.*

**CII. XVIII. eminus**] Out of his reach—but not loosing their own weapons.

*rettulimus*] *14. 3.*

3 *terga hostium promittens*]  
 'Promising to give him the enemy's rear,' *i.e.* to put it in his power.

missae incauto hosti circumfunduntur. Quod ubi clamore cognitum, legiones a fronte incubuere, pulsique Germani Rhenum fuga petebant. Debellatum eo die foret, si Romana 5 classis sequi maturâasset. Ne eques quidem institit, repente fusis imbribus et propinqua nocte.

19 Postera die quartadecuma legio in superiorem provinciam Gallo Annio missa; Cerialis exercitum decunia ex Hispania legio supplavit. Civili Chaucorum auxilia venere. Non 2 tamen ausus oppidum Batavorum armis tueri, raptis quae ferri poterant, ceteris injecto igni, in insulam concessit, gnarus deesse naves efficiendo ponti, neque exercitum Romanum aliter transmissurum. Quin et diruit molem a Druso Ger- 3 manico factam, Rhenumque prono alveo in Galliam ruentem, disiectis quae morabantur, effudit. Sic velut abacto amne, 4 tenuis alveus insulam inter Germanosque continentium terrarum speciem fecerat. Transiere Rhenum Tutor quoque et 5 Classicus et centum tredecim Treverorum senatores; in quîs fuit Alpinius Montanus, quem a Primo Antonio missum in

5 **repente fusis imbribus**] So that they were afraid to advance, even by the way that they had found safe earlier in the day.

Ch. XIX. **Gallo Annio**] iv. 68. 1. **decuma ex H.**] iv. 68. 5, 76. 2. This was the *Decuma Gemina*, the *Decuma Fretensis* was in Judaea, 1. 3.

2 **Chaucorum auxilia**] Cf. iv. 79. 3.

7 **oppidum Batavorum**] Not the same as Batavodurum, which seems to be fixed at the modern Wyk-by-Duurstede, the point of divergence of the Lek and Rhine, but somewhere on the Gaulish side of the Waal, some suppose at Nymegen, some (from the name) at Batenburg.

**Romanum**] A German army could have swum.

3 **molem, etc.**] Drusus' object was to secure for Gaul (including

the Batavian island) a good frontier against Germany, by making the Waal a manageable stream, and the Rhine (with the Yssel joined to it by a canal, as an outwork), a large and rapid (*Ann.* ii. 6. 5) river. Civilis' object was just the opposite, to make the island a part of Germany, with a good frontier towards Gaul, by making the Waal the larger river. Nature or history has decided in Civilis' favour.

**Druso Germanico**] The title was only voted to him on his death, and borne by his sons.

4 **continentium terrarum**] To be translated 'continuous land,' but Tacitus is aware that he is approximating to the technical geographical term 'continent.'

5 **senatores**] The natural word to use of the members of the council of an independent city; as coun-

Gallias superius memoravimus. Comitabatur eum frater D. Alpinius. Simul ceteri miseratione ac donis auxilia concibant 6  
 20 inter gentes periculorum avidas. Tantumque belli superfuit, ut praesidia cohortium, alarum, legionum uno die Civilis quadripartito invaserit, decumam legionem Arenaci, secundam Batavoduri, et Grinnes Vadamque cohortium alarumque castra, ita divisis copiis ut ipse et Verax, sorore ejus genitus, Classicusque ac Tutor suam quisque manum traherent; nec omnia patrandi fiducia, sed multa ausis aliqua in parte fortunam adfore: simul Ceriale neque satis cautum, et pluribus nuntiis hoc illuc cursantem, posse medio intercipi. Quibus 2 obvenerant castra decumanorum, obpugnationem legionis arduam rati, egressum militem et caedendis materiis operatum turbavere, occiso praefecto castrorum, et quinque primoribus centurionum, paucisque militibus: ceteri se munimentis

cillors of a Roman colony they would bear the less exalted name of *decuriones*.

**superius**] iii. 35. 2, iv. 31. 1, 32. Strictly speaking, his commission was to Germany, but of course he was sent through Gaul.

**CH. XX. Arenaci . . . Batavoduri . . . Grinnes Vadamque**] The first is generally supposed to be Arnhem, the second Wyk-by-Duurstede; but Tacitus certainly gives us the impression that the Romans were still on the south of the Waal. Are we perhaps to understand that it was the Lek, not the Waal, into which Civilis diverted the waters of the Rhine,—so that the south-east part of the island was already abandoned? If so, the *oppidum Batavorum* might be, not indeed Batavodurum itself, but a suburb of it on the south side of the Lek, and the Romans occupying it after Civilis' evacuation might be said to be attacked *at* Batavodurum. All four places, wherever they were, are conjectured to have been among

the fifty forts established by Drusus on the frontier.

**sorore ejus genitus**] See on iv. 33. 1.

**nec omnia patrandi fiducia**] This is the regular construction: *fiducia* takes a gen., whether of a subst. or a gerund. The infinitives *adfore* and *posse* therefore can hardly be said to depend on *fiducia*, but on a verb meaning 'they calculated,' to be supplied from it. They are a case of elliptical *oratio obliqua* like that noted in 16. 2, 3.

**2 occiso . . . centurionum**] The officers probably kept their arms, while the men laid down theirs for work: hence, when the enemy surprised them, the former fought and were killed, while the latter thought it no shame to fly. Or are we to remember the paralysis of discipline that had set in with the civil wars, and how, with the far less demoralised legions of the east, Titus found it necessary to expose his person? (see *reff. on II. I.*)

defendere. Et interim Germanorum manus Batavoduri rum- 3  
 pere inchoatum pontem nitebantur. Ambiguum praelium  
 21 nox diremit. Plus discriminis apud Grinnes Vadamque.  
 Vadam Civilis, Grinnes Classicus obpugnabant. Nec sisti  
 poterant interfecto fortissimo quoque; in quis Briganticus,  
 praefectus alae, ceciderat, quem fidum Romanis et Civili  
 avunculo infensum diximus. Sed ubi Cerialis cum delecta 2  
 equitum manu subvenit, versa fortuna praecipites Germani  
 in amnem aguntur. Civilis, dum fugientes retentat, agnitus  
 petitusque telis relicto equo tranatavit. Idem Veracis effu- 3  
 gium. Tutorem Classicumque adpulsae lintres vexere. Ne  
 tum quidem Romana classis pugnae adfuit, ut jussum erat:  
 sed obstitit formido, et remiges per alia militiae munia  
 dispersi. Sane Cerialis parum temporis ad exsequenda 4  
 imperia dabat, subitus consiliis, sed eventu clarus. Aderat  
 fortuna etiam ubi artes defuissent. Hinc ipsi exercituique  
 minor cura disciplinae. Et paucos post dies, quamquam 5  
 22 periculum captivitatis evasisset, infamiam non vitavit. Pro-  
 fectus Novesium Bonnamque ad visenda castra quae hiema-  
 turis legionibus ergebantur, navibus remeabat, disjecto agmine,  
 incuriosis vigiliis. Animadversum id Germanis; et insidias

3 *rumpere*] M. has *inrumpere*, whence many editors not improbably *interrumpere*.

CH. XXI. *diximus*] iv. 70. 3; see also ii. 22.

in *amnem* leaves the question open whether the attack was along the line of the Rhine, the Lek, the Waal, or even the Lippe.

3 *Veracis*] M. has *Germani*, no doubt a careless repetition from the last line but one. Possibly however the corrupt reading points rather to the dative *Veraci* than to that of the text.

ne *tum quidem*] Any more than in 18. 5.

*formido*] They had never got over their bad beginning of the war, iv. 16. 3-5.

*et remiges . . . dispersi*] 'And the fact of the rowers being dispersed.'

*Sane*] It was not entirely their fault.

4 *subitus . . . clarus*] Cf. iv. 78. 5.

CH. XXII. *disjecto agmine*] The escort of troops who had accompanied him apparently travelled by land, and no care was taken to keep them and the fleet abreast of or in communication with each other.

composuere. Electa nox atra nubibus; et prono amne rapti, 2 nullo prohibente, vallum ineunt. Prima caedes astu adjuta: incisis tabernaculorum funibus, suismet tentoriis coopertos trucidabant. Aliud agmen turbare classem, inicere vincla, trahere puppis. Utque ad fallendum silentio, ita coepita 3 caede, quo plus terroris adderent, cuncta clamoribus miscebant. Romani volneribus exciti quaerunt arma, ruunt per vias, pauci ornatu militari, plerique circum brachia torta veste et strictis mucronibus. Dux semisomnus ac prope intectus 4 errore hostium servatur. Namque praetoriam navem vexillo insignem, illic ducem rati, abripiunt. Cerialis alibi noctem egerat, ut plerique credidere, ob stuprum Claudioe Sacratae mulieris Ubiae. Vigiles flagitium suum ducis dedecore 5 excusabant, tamquam jussi silere, ne quietem ejus turbarent; ita, intermisso signo et vocibus, se quoque in somnum lapsos. Multa luce revecti hostes, captivis navibus, praetoriam triremem 23 flumine Luppia donum Veledae traxere. Civilem

2 **Electa . . . nubibus]** Cf. *Germ.* 43. 6.

**vallum]** The camp where the soldiers lodged and the vessels drew up for the night.

**tentoribus]** M. has *toriis*, whence the MS. copies and some edd. stupidly make *coriis*. No doubt the tents were of leather; but a serious English historian would scarcely, in a parallel case, say, 'in their own canvas,' though 'canvas' has a quasi-proverbial usage in this sense, which *coria* has not. In *Ann.* iv. 72. 2, however, *coria*, as well as *terga*, is used of the raw material.

**puppis]** Were the ships drawn up with the bow to the shore in river navigation, there being neither room nor the same need *obvertere pelago proras* as at sea?

3 **silentio** depends on a verb of neutral meaning (*peregerant*, or the like), or even of opposite mean-

ing (e.g. *condiderant*), to be supplied from *miscebant*.

4 **servatur]** From capture, 21. 5. He was cut off, and might have been captured, but that they thought they had got him already.

ut **plerique credidere]** The fact (cf. iv. 77. 1) of his unmilitary absence from the camp was certain; the scandalous motive alleged for it was only probable.

5 **signo et vocibus]** The trumpet that passed round (like the bell in Greece, *Thuc.* iv. 135) at each watch of the night, and challenges or signals, like the modern 'All's well,' of the sentinels themselves.

**se quoque]** Their misconduct was undoubtedly; they could only say that if they were asleep at their posts, the general was asleep off his. Tacitus seems to suggest as possible that they invented the story against him to excuse themselves.

cupido incessit navalem aciem ostentandi. Complet quod biremium, quaeque simplici ordine agebantur. Adjecta ingens lirntrium vis, tricenos quadragenosque . . . ; armamenta Liburnicis solita; et simul captae lintres sagulis versicoloribus haud indecore pro velis juvabantur. Spatium velut aequoris <sup>2</sup> electum, quo Mosae fluminis os amnem Rhenum Oceano affundit. Causa instruendae classis, super insitam genti vanitatem, ut eo terrore commeatus Gallia adventantes interciperentur. Cerialis miraculo magis quam metu direxit classem, <sup>3</sup> numero inparem, usu remigum, gubernatorum arte, navium magnitudine potiorem. His flumen secundum; illi vento agebantur. Sic praevecti, tentato levium telorum jactu, dirimuntur. Civilis nihil ultra ausus trans Rhenum concessit. <sup>4</sup> Cerialis insulam Batavorum hostiliter populatus, agros villas-

CH. XXIII. quod biremium] The verb. subst. is left to be supplied from *agebantur*.

tricenos quadragenosque] After the words *M. has ser*, for which *ferentium, vehentium, vexere* (making the three words parenthetical), and other equivalent suggestions have been made. The sense is clear.

captae lintres] They were called *naves* in 22. 5.

sagulis versicoloribus] The use of these was Gallic rather than German; see on ii. 20. 1.

haud indecore] The spectacle was a bit of barbarian vanity, but it really looked very pretty.

2 Spatium velut aequoris electum] 'They chose, as an open space suitable for their manœuvres,' —the words are such as to suggest the spectacular character of the whole thing. We can hardly translate *velut aequoris*, 'like that of the sea'; where there was room for two fleets to pass, it *was* sea for all practical purposes.

Mosae . . . Rhenum] Cf. *Ann.* ii. 6. 5. Notice that in the *Histories*

he nowhere uses the name *Vahalis* for the left branch of the Rhine. Apparently the Batavian fleet, at least the vessels taken near Novesium, were brought down the Rhine proper, and coasted along from its mouth to that of the Maas.

eo terrore] They did not mean actually to stop them—they probably were brought by water, but not from so far west as this point, —but to frighten the Gauls out of bringing them.

3 praevecti] 'Sailing past each other,' —each fleet doubtless in column, not in line.

4 trans Rhenum] In the narrower sense, the northern or eastern branch. He had hitherto occupied the line of the Waal or the Lek, and Cerialis had not ventured to attack him in front; on the contrary, though he had failed in a front attack on Cerialis, he had succeeded in seriously harassing his right flank. But in attempting a demonstration against his left, he had only provoked him into

que Civilis intactas nota arte ducum sinebat, cum interim flexu auctumni et crebris per aequinoctium imbris superflusus amnis palustrem humilemque insulam in faciem stagni opplevit. Nec classis aut commeatus aderant, castraque in 24 plano sita vi fluminis differebantur. Potuisse tunc opprimi legiones, et voluisse Germanos, sed dolo a se flexos inputavit Civilis. Neque abhorret vero, quando paucis post diebus deditio insecuta est. Nam Cerialis, per occultos nuntios <sup>2</sup> Batavis pacem, Civili veniam ostentans, Veledam propinquosque monebat fortunam belli, tot cladibus adversam, opportuno erga populum Romanum merito mutare. Caesos Treveros, <sup>3</sup> receptos Ubios, erectam Batavis patriam; neque aliud Civilis amicitia partum quam volnera, fugas, luctus. Exsulem eum et extorrem recipientibus oneri; et satis peccavisse, quod totiens Rhenum transcenderint. Si quid ultra moliantur, inde

turning his own right, and after this he felt his position untenable.

**nota arte ducum**] Thuc. ii. 13. 1, Liv. ii. 39. 6, xxii. 23, etc.

**flexu auctumni**] 'As the autumn was more than half through its course;' 'metaphora a flexu metae,' Duebn. *ap. Or.*

**per aequinoctium**] Made out by Or. from the obscure and imperfect letters in M.

**classis aut commeatus**] The fleet ought, after frightening Civilis out of the island, and disconcerting his plan against the Roman communications with Gaul, to have resumed their own communication with the land army. Instead, we are to suppose that they turned down the Gaulish coast, leaving the army to shift for itself.

**differebantur**] 'Began to be carried away.'

**CH. XXIV. Neque abhorret vero**] It was likely enough that the Germans wished to attack, and that Civilis, already thinking of surrender, restrained them. So

far as we can tell, it is far less likely that an attack, if made now, had a better prospect of success than former ones; but Tacitus seems to imply that also.

**2 Batavis . . . Civili . . . Veledam**] Cerialis is not charged with perfidy, nor even insincerity, in his negotiations; only he had two strings (or perhaps three) to his bow. He might get Civilis to submit (as he did); he might get the Batavians to revolt from him (as he nearly did); or again, he might get Veleda to order Civilis to be surrendered, which is meant by *opportunitum erga p. R. meritum*. Even if the war went on, he might thus sow distrust among the confederates; but, if either of the three parties came to terms, he was not pledged to any other.

**3 partum**] A correction (as in 10. 3) for *paratum*. Here the latter, in the sense of 'earned,' seems not impossible.

**inde injuriam . . . deos fore**] A prophetess and her votaries could

25 injuriam et culpam, hinc ultiōem et deos fore. Miscebantur minis promissa. Et, concussa Transrhenanorum fide, inter Batavos quoque sermones orti. 'Non prorogandam ultra 2 ruinam, nec posse ab una natione totius orbis servitium depelli. Quid profectum caede et incendiis legionum, nisi ut plures validioresque accirentur? Si Vespasiano bellum navaverint, 3 Vespasianum rerum potiri; sin populum Romanum armis vocent, quotam partem generis humani Batavos esse? Respi- 4 cerent Raetos Noricosque et ceterorum onera sociorum: sibi non tributa sed virtutem et viros indici. Proximum id libertati; et si dominorum electio sit, honestius principes Romanorum quam Germanorum feminas tolerari.' Haec volgus. Proceres atrociora: 'Civilis rabie semet in arma trusos; illum 5 domesticis malis excidium gentis obposuisse. Tunc infenos Batavis deos, cum obsiderentur legiones, interficerentur legati,

not afford to put themselves morally in the wrong.

CH. XXV. 2 ab una natione] 'One tribe,' small, and loosely organized. The *gens Germanorum* (cf. *Germ.* 2. 5) might have done it, but not the *natio Batavorum*.

caede et incendiis legionum] The capture and massacre of Vetera.

3 vocent] *I.q. provocent*, as iv. 80. 3. *Ann.* vi. 34. 1, *vocare ad pugnam et detrectantem incessere*.

quotam partem, etc.] Cf. sup. 10. 3. Or. compares also the speech of Agrippa in *Jos. B. J.* ii. 16. 4, *μένοι δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀδοξεῖτε δούλευειν οὐς ὑποτέτακται τὰ πάντα, κ.τ.λ.* The parallelism between Jewish and Batavian sentiment is not accidental; both nations revolted because they thought they saw providential signs (iv. 54. 3) of the dissolution of the empire; when it appeared that the cohesion of the empire was proof against the distractions of a war of succession,

both recognised the empire, with a quasi-religious awe, as practically indissoluble. True, the speech assigned to Agrippa is placed before the death of Nero; but it probably represents rather Josephus' own sentiments at the time of writing than the king's at the time of speaking; and the historian's political conduct is best accounted for by supposing the course of his opinions to be the same as the Batavians'. Cf. *Jos. B. J.* vii. 4. 2.

4 sibi . . . indici] From the same facts an opposite inference had been drawn at the beginning of the war, iv. 17. 4. Cf. *Germ.* 29. 2, there quoted.

5 domesticis malis] iv. 13. 1, 32. 4.

obposuisse] 'Had staked the ruin of the race to quit his private sufferings,'—substantially the same use of the word as in the technical sense of 'mortgage' (*Catull.* 26).

5 Tunc] It was obvious to say they were now; but the truth was,

bellum uni necessarium, ferale ipsis sumeretur. Ventum ad extrema, ni resipiscere incipient, et noxii capitatis poena paenitentiam fateantur.' Non sefellit Civilem ea inclinatio, et praevenire statuit, super taedium malorum, etiam spe vitae, quae plerumque magnos animos infringit. Petito colloquio 2 scinditur Nabaliae fluminis pons; in cuius abrupta progressi duces, et Civilis ita coepit:—'Si apud Vitellii legatum 3 defenderer, neque facto meo venia, neque dictis fides debebatur. Cuncta inter nos inimica, hostilia, ab illo coepta, a me aucta erant. Erga Vespasianum vetus mihi observantia; et cum privatus esset, amici vocabamur. Hoc Primo Antonio 4

the misfortunes began then, which now were discovered, and might be cured.

**CH. XXVI. inclinatio]** Change, especially weakening, of purpose. So *Ann. i. 28. 4*, of the terror inspired in a mutinous army by an eclipse.

**spe vitae]** His countrymen were talking about *capitis poena*, so that he had not the hope of living on in the honourable character of an exiled patriot.

**2 Nabaliae]** Presumably the Yssel, though some suggest the Vecht. On the former there appears to have been a town or station called Navalia, and though this seems *prima facie* a Latin name, it may have been founded on a native one of the river; cf. *Amisia* (*Ann. ii. 8. 2*) at the mouth of the Ems, a place perhaps surviving as Emden. Nicolas Colinus, the author of a Low-Dutch metrical chronicle of the twelfth century, calls the river *Nau Wale*, 'New Waal'; now, as Civilis had entirely evacuated the island after the naval skirmish, we cannot think of the Lek or any canal leading out of the Waal. But if the Yssel had no communication with the Rhine before the canal cut by Drusus,

that canal and the river it led to might conceivably be called a new Waal, as being a new divergent branch of the Rhine, and so co-ordinate with the old Waal.

**pons]** We may remember the conversation of Arminius and his brother across the Weser, *Ann. ii. 9*. If that scene be historical, there must have been bridge-ends on either side to bring them within arrow-shot or ear-shot of each other. Compare also Titus' parley with the Jews, in *Jos. B. J. vi. 6. 2*, across the broken bridge from the Temple to the Upper City; and Or. quotes later instances of treaties being negotiated under similar conditions.

**3 Vitellii]** *Al. leg. Vitellianum*; M. has *Vitellium*. The termination may as conceivably be an anticipation of that of *legatum* as of that of the word itself.

**observantia]** The sentence is quoted by Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep. iv. 14 init.* (to Polemius, a descendant of Tacitus' own); in place of this word he has *amicitia*, no doubt by a slip.

**et cum . . . vocabamur]** The regretful cynicism is doubtless due to Tacitus, not to Civilis. But we are probably to understand as a

notum, cuius epistolis ad bellum actus sum, ne Germanicae legiones et Gallica juventus Alpes transcenderent. Quae Antonius epistolis, Hordeonius Flaccus praesens monebat, arma in Germania movi, quae Mucianus in Syria, Aponius in Moesia, Flavianus in Pannonia.' \* \* \*

fact that Civilis had been recognised by Vespasian as an honourable comrade when he was in command on the Rhine; see on iv. 13. 2.

4 *cujus epistolis*] A fact; *vid. l.c.*

*Hordeonius . . . monebat*] iv. 27. 4, 31. 3. Civilis had, however (54. 1), thrown off the mask after the civil war ended; but Cerialis was now content to let him

resume it, however transparent it had become. 24. 1 implies that his submission was accepted, and so we find Colinus assuming, though his copy of Tacitus broke off at the same point as ours (if indeed it was not individually the same), and left the ultimate fate of 'noble Count Claudius Civilis' in the uncertainty in which it is likely to remain.

## CORNELII TACITI

# HISTORIARUM FRAGMENTA.

1. INTEREA Judaei obsidione clausi, quia nulla neque pacis neque deditio copia dabatur, ad extremum fame interibant, passimque viae oppleri cadaveribus coepere. Quin omnia nefanda esca super ausi, ne humanis quidem corporibus pepercerunt, nisi quae ejusmodi alimentis tabes praeripuerat.

SULP. SEVER. *Hist. Sacr.* ii. 30.

That this was likely to be from Tacitus was first pointed out by De Prato, the editor of Severus. It is acknowledged by Bernays in his Essay (published at Berlin in 1863), though incidentally, in comparison with his elaborate discussion and reconstruction of the next passage.

**nulla . . . dabatur]** This contradicts Josephus, who makes Titus repeatedly (*B. J.* v. 9. 2 *sqq.*, 11. 2, 13. 3, vi. 2. 1 *sqq.*, 6. 2) offer terms to the Jews, and who speaks of the deed of the widow Mary (*ib.* vi. 3. 4) as an exceptional horror, felt as such by the zealot soldiers or 'robbers' themselves.

**fame . . . coepere]** Cf. Jos. *B. J.* v. 12. 3, 13. 7; vi. 1. 1, 3. 3.  
**omnia nefanda]** τὰ μηδὲ τοῦς βυταρωτάτους τῶν ἀλβγων ξφων πρόσφορα συλλέγοντες ἐσθίειν ὑπέφε-

*pov*, Josephus in the last passage referred to. He does not, as one might expect, refer to the unlawfulness of such food; but we cannot be sure that *nefanda* is not Tacitus' own word, nor even that he drew from a Jewish source, if we compare his language in iv. 60. 1.

**esca super]** So the Vatican ms. of Severus; but the common text, through not understanding that the preposition is put after its case, reads *insuper*.

2. Fertur Titus adhibito consilio prius deliberasse an templum tanti operis everteret. Etenim nonnullis videbatur, aedem sacratam, ultra omnia mortalia illustrem, non debere deleri, quae servata modestiae Romanae testimonium, diruta

perennem crudelitatis notam paeberet. At contra alii et Titus ipse evertendum templum imprimis censebant, quo plenius Judaeorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur. Quippe has religiones, licet contrarias sibi, iisdem tamen auctoribus profectas; Christianos ex Judaeis exstisset; radice sublata stirpem facile perituram. Ita Dei nutu accensis omnium animis templum dirutum, *etc.*—SULP. SEVER. *ibid.*

In Bernays' *Essay on the Chronicle of Sulpicius Severus*, after having pointed out the passages where (in ii. 28. 2, 29. 1 *sqq.*) he embodies a sentence or two of Tacitus (*Ann. xv. 37, 38, 40. 3; 44. 3, 6*) in his own narrative, he suggests that we have in this passage, as in that preceding, on the horrors of the siege, a similar case; and showing 'how few and of what sort are those words of Severus, which Tacitus could not have written,' leaves the following as what he possibly may have, and as probably representing substantially what he did:—

Titus adhibito consilio deliberavit an templum tanti operis everteret. Etenim [Gaio et Gaio] videbatur, aedem sacratam [inter omnes mortales nobilem], non debere deleri, quae servata modestiae Romanae testimonium, diruta perennem crudelitatis notam paeberet. At contra [Gaius et Gaius] et Titus ipse evertendum templum imprimis censebant, quo penitus Judaeorum et Christianorum [superstitione] tolleretur. Quippe has [superstitiones], licet contrarias sibi, iisdem tamen auctoribus profectas; Christianos ex Judaeis exstisset; radice sublata stirpem facile periturani.

**Fertur]** Bernays suggests that the ultimate authority for the passage is M. Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judaea, and a member (*Jos. B. J. vi. 4. 3*) of the council of war held by Titus on this very question, who, by a reasonable conjecture, is identified with the Antonius Julianus quoted, as an authority for the siege of Jerusalem co-ordinate with Josephus, by Minucius Felix (*Octav. 33*). Such an authority is even higher than

Josephus' own, especially when, as here, the story is much more intrinsically probable than his (*B. J. l. c.*, and *ib. §§ 6, 7*), and he had an obvious motive for falsification; writing under Titus' eye, when the latter had begun to pose as *deliciae humani generis*, it might please both client and patron to exaggerate both the humanity and the piety of the conqueror. Dio, *lxvi. 6. 2*, agrees with Tacitus, or at least contradicts Josephus: *οὐ μῆν καὶ*

παραχρῆμα διὰ τὸ δεισιδαιμονῆσαι ἐσέδραμον, ἀλλ' ὅψε ποτε, τοῦ Τίτου σφᾶς καταναγκάσαντος, εἶσω προεχώρησαν. Moreover, Josephus (*B. J.* vi. 2. 3) charges the zealots with gross profanation of the holy places which they occupied—*τοῖς δ' ἀγάλοις καὶ ἀβάτοις μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰσεπήδων*, θερμὰς ἔτι τὰς χεῖρας ἔξ δμοφύλων ἔχοντες φόνων,—while Dio's authority gave the sublime picture of disciplined devotion—*ῶσπερ τι ἔρμαιον τὸ πρός τε τῷ ναῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι πεσεῖν εὐρηκότες, ἡμύνοντο, οὐ μὲν δῆμος κάτω ἐν τῷ προνάῷ, οὐ δὲ βούλευται ἐν τοῖς ἀναβασμοῖς, οὐ θ' ἵερεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μεγάρῳ τεταγμένοι*—and says they fought against the superior numbers till the temple itself was in flames.

**nonnullis]** Bernays points to ii. 31-3, 82. 4, 5, iii. 1-4 (we may add iv. 76), as showing that Tacitus' general practice is to name the advocate of each *sententia* in a council of war.

**ultra omnia mortalia illustrem]** A hyperbole which of course cannot be assigned to Tacitus, while

some similar clause improves the rhythm of the sentence.

**modestiae]** Cf. *Ann.* i. 9. 6 for the Tacitean use of this word in the sense of 'moderation.'

**aliij]** The same remark applies as on *nonnullis*, though with perhaps less force.

**Christianorum** proves the early date when the passage was written; after the time of Hadrian no one would have conceived Judaism and Christianity as so related that the second would fall with the first, while the view here taken of them is not unlike that of *Ann.* xv. 44. 4. It is almost strange that, writing after Julian had attempted to *damage* Christianity by re-establishing Judaism, Severus should reproduce so faithfully the point of view of a pagan of an earlier period.

**religio]** Post-classical, in the sense of a definite creed.

**accensis omnium animis]** Included by Bernays in his extract from Sulpicius, perhaps as suggesting that these three (or five) words may also come from Tacitus.

3. *Ut verbis Cornelii Taciti utar, Sene Augusto Janus patefactus, dum apud extremos terrarum terminos novae gentes saepe ex usu et aliquando cum damno quaeruntur, usque ad Vespasiani duravit imperium.*—**OROSIUS**, vii. 3.

The only instance in which we have a fragment of the lost books of Tacitus professedly quoted with textual accuracy. That this is so there is no reason to doubt. The passage probably occurred in the account of Vespasian's closing the temple after the completion of the Jewish war.

**Sene Augusto]** Augustus had closed it three times in (and therefore opened it twice between) the years B.C. 29, 25, and 10. He reopened it for the last time perhaps in A.D. 1, when the German wars were renewed.

**duravit]** Nero had taken upon

him to close it in A.D. 63 (referred to, *Ann.* vi. 28. 5); but we find that there were objections raised to the legitimacy of the closing, and no doubt after his death the act was set aside, and the official records of it cancelled.

4. *Cum tamen eas (sc. Jani portas) ab ipso Vespasiano post annum apertas Cornelius Tacitus prodat.*—*Id. vii. 19.*

We do not know what was the war arising in A.D. 73 or 74 that appeared to Vespasian to call for this solemn reopening. Probably it was some inconsiderable frontier fighting, leading, however, to extension of the empire in Britain (see *Agr.* 17), and perhaps equally petty and more resultless operations in Africa, as Juvenal (xiv. 196) couples *Maurorum* *attegias, castella Brigantum*, as the only material available for an aspirant to military fame.

5. Nam quanta fuerint Diurpanei, Dacorum regis, cum Fusco duce praelia, quantaeque Romanorum clades, longo textu evolverem, nisi Cornelius Tacitus, qui hanc historiam diligentissime contexuit, 'de reticendo intersectorum numero et Sallustium Crispum et alios quam plurimos auctores sanxisse, et' se ipsum 'idem potissimum elegisse' dixisset.

*Id. vii. 10.*

**Diurpanei**] Our other authorities call the Dacian king who carried on war against Domitian, Decebalus, as also the king conquered by Trajan. The two may or may not have been the same person; but it is generally held that Decebalus is a title, 'the Strength of the Dacians,' and Diurpaneus the personal name of the Decebalus contemporary with Domitian.

**Fusco**] See ii. 86. 5 *n.*, etc.  
**de reticendo . . . sanxisse**] This construction is not unlikely to have proceeded from Tacitus. *Lege sancire de re* is not unusual Latin, e.g. *Liv.* xxxiv. 4; the omission of *lege* is within the limits of Tacitean eccentricity.

**Sallustium Crispum**] Probably in his *Histories*, but not found among the extant remains.

6. Caesi itaque, morum elogio in filiis derelicto.

FULGENTIUS, c. 7.

Quoted by the grammarian Fulgentius as from 'Cornelius Tacitus in libro facetiarum.' Almost certainly this does not mean that Tacitus compiled a jest-book; whether it means that a collection was made of Tacitus' witty sayings, or that in a collection of witty sayings some were inserted of his, is less certain. The notices we have of Cicero's *ἀποφθέγματα*, of which a collection was made in his own lifetime by Trebonius (*Cic. ad fam.* xv. 21. 1, 2), and a posthumous one by Tiro, may incline us to the former view; on the other hand, Caesar (*id. ib.* ix. 16. 4) seems to have

made a collection of miscellaneous good jokes, *including* Cicero's. Judging from the specimens preserved of Cicero's *Apophthegmata*, we should imagine that Tacitus' *factiae* were conversational *mots*, or at most brilliant passages in his speeches, not extracts from his published works. Nevertheless, the style and narrative character of the sentence makes it probable that it comes from a lost part of the *Histories* or *Annals*: 'And so they were slain, leaving behind in their sons an epitaph on their departed virtues,' is not too harsh a phrase nor too sarcastic a sentiment to have occurred in either. We append it, therefore, to the *Histories*, as possibly, though not certainly, belonging to them.